NATIONAL REVIEW

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January 31, 1959

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Do We Want an "Open Society"?

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Italian Labor: Primitive Unionism

ALICE-LEONE MOATS

Sensuality and Substance

W. H. AUDEN

Articles and Reviews by · · WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN
JAMES BURNHAM · L. BRENT BOZELL · FRANK S. MEYER
RUSSELL KIRK · PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY · C. R. MORSE

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The Third World War

A Soviet Agent Reports on his Mission

To: *The Presidium*
From: *A. I. Mikoyan*
Subject: *Report on U.S. psycho-moral probing operation. Appendix B (excerpts).*

Hungary. My observations verify that for U.S. opinion, the problem of the 1956 Hungary uprising has been successfully liquidated. Refugee pickets failed to win cooperation from any native groups, and were repudiated by all public authorities. The conclusion is reinforced by public indifference to the Bang-Jensen dismissal from the UN Secretariat.

Recommendation: The Hungary-erasure project, U.S. section, will be closed out, and personnel transferred to strengthen the French section.

Lunik-Mechta. Observed reactions suggest that our U.S. exploitation of Mechta was a failure. The public was bored, with a widespread feeling that the whole thing was somehow a fake. This strengthens the opinion of certain of our experts on the U.S. that you cannot work the same stunt twice: you cannot, that is, have a second Sputnik.

Recommendation: We will play down the next spatial project designed for U.S. consumption, with the expectation that American publicists will be thereby provoked to build it up on their own. We will consider announcing some failures, to add a new air of authenticity.

China. In spite of the persistence of our good friends (*cf.* petition to new Congress by Mrs. Roosevelt *et al.*) there is little progress along the line: Recognize China, Admit China to the UN; and not much along the "Two Chinas" perspective. U.S. opinion, hardened by the Quemoy action, has been disturbed by the People's Commune development. Test conversations, however, indicated a positive response to the "Chinese threat" ("Yellow Peril") associational complex: a billion Chinese by 1970; European Communists dismayed by Chinese Commune measures; Russians want nuclear treaty to prevent Chinese from gaining nuclear capability; the time will come when Americans and Russians will join against the danger from the East; etc.

Recommendation: Our propaganda on the Chinese question—particularly undercover and black operations—will shift to greater emphasis on these Chinese threat elements. We will thus make a dialectical combination of opposites, with maximum psychological penetration. *Thesis* (open): Communist China is an established, developing nation that must be admitted to the world community. *Antithesis* (covert): Communist China is the threatened scourge of the West and the entire white race. *Synthesis*: The U.S. must come to terms, on the Chinese question, with Soviet Russia.

Press. There was total cooperation from press, radio and TV. We can make whatever use we wish of the U.S. communications system, and can control quantity and quality of coverage as well as content focus.

Recommendation: We reject proposal of U.S. Party to expand the direct Party-controlled press and TV facilities. This would be a waste of rubles.

Labor. The attitude of the Reuther-Carey wing of the labor leadership was openly cordial, and their policy position is satisfactory. However, McCarthyism remains intrenched within the AFL-CIO, symbolized by the Chairman, George Meany, whose anti-Soviet ideas are fed by the renegade, Jay Lovestone (*cf.* Meany's public refusal of Eric Johnston dinner invitation).

Recommendation: We will expand the campaign to isolate Meany, and to get Reuther accepted by the labor movement and the public generally as "*the* leader of American labor." A correct slanting of congressional hearings can do much to this end.

Political parties. Parallel to the labor situation, responses to the tour showed a strain of McCarthyism (Bridges, Judd, Dulles, Nixon) still present in the Republican leadership, but a satisfactory Reutherish attitude in the center and left of the Democratic leadership (Stevenson, Humphrey, Governor Brown). Under the ideological guidance of Kennan-Acheson-Schlesinger & Co., a center-left Democratic victory in 1960 will not merely facilitate many specific objectives (summit meetings, disarmament negotiations, anti-European Afro-Asian approach, German disengagement, anti-Chiang, etc.) but will bring the pliable coexistence posture blocked by the Dulles-Nixon clique.

Recommendation: The U.S. section will continue to smother all new-party moves on the left, to support the Democratic left-center, and to discredit the Nixon-Dulles-Bridges reactionaries. These local moves will be supplemented internationally, as by: the Humphrey-Khrushchev interview and Stevenson Soviet tour in building up the Democratic left; the anti-Nixon riots and UN denunciations in discrediting the reactionaries.

Businessmen. The outstanding result of the probe was the proof that the U.S. business-financial community is the major present U.S. vulnerability. There was no resistance from a single active representative of the industrial and banking strata. Provocations and insults, which I introduced experimentally into speeches before business groups, met only acceptance, smiles and applause. It is possible that, by a dialectical negation of the negation, the capitalists will bring Communism to America.

Recommendation: "Operation millionaire" will be advanced to top priority. In 1959 we will develop at least two more active-businessman propagandists in supplement to Cyrus Eaton, one of them a Republican. With such a *troika* we may pull along the bulk of the business class. J. B.

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EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell — James Burnham
John Chamberlain — Whittaker Chambers
Willmoore Kendall — Suzanne La Follette
Frank S. Meyer

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES
Priscilla L. Buckley — Jonathan Mitchell
Maureen B. O'Reilly — Morrie Ryskind

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Medford Evans, Finis Farr, Karl Hess, John D. Kreuttner, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, E. Merrill Root, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

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For the Record

Some Washington officials fear Anastas I. Mikoyan may be elevated to an even higher post upon his return, in a Soviet move to reassure U.S. business leaders. . . . The "inside" rumor that Mikoyan came to the U.S. to line up American financial support in a move to replace Khrushchev has been traced to a Communist functionary in Mexico. . . . . The Soviet moon-sun probe, say Washington insiders, was a dismal failure scientifically but a superb propaganda hoax. The hoax came off unexposed by our scientists because President Eisenhower had rushed his official congratulations to the Kremlin before our space experts had a chance to assess "Lunik."

Judge Robert Morris has proposed a new Cabinet post for State Government Affairs, with an immediate interim arrangement whereby state governors rotate in attending Cabinet meetings. . . . Southern senators reportedly have been asked for recommendations to fill the next Supreme Court vacancy. . . . The House Republican Conference last week voted unanimously to oppose the James Roosevelt bill to abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities.

From a correspondent in Argentina: "Since 1956, the Red bloc has been extremely active in our country. Today, you find no less than ten official magazines from Communist countries on newsstands everywhere, against one from USIS." . . . Red troop activity on the North-South Vietnam border has observers worried. Probable motive: reactivation of the International Control Commission, which would place a Communist observer (the Polish delegate) in South Vietnam.

The University of Michigan Press, publisher of the Russian edition of Doctor Zhivago, reports heavy advance orders, some presumably from groups hoping to get copies into the Soviet Union. This is the first of a list of outstanding books banned in the USSR which the Press will publish in Russian. . . . Guest of honor at the Conservative Citizens Committee dinner at the Raddisson Hotel, Minneapolis, January 29, will be Senator Barry Goldwater (despite opposition of Modern Republicans in Minnesota).

ERRATUM: We reported in the last issue that the Manion Forum could be heard from Philadelphia to New England at 5:15 p.m. on Station WINS, New York, every Sunday. The correct time is 6:15 p.m.

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The WEEK

● The Economic Council of the Arab League has indicated that it wants "in" on the profits of refineries abroad which utilize Arab crude oil. And we know a vicuña herder who thinks Bernard Goldfine should pay him something on Sherman Adams' overcoat.

● We heard, the other day, about one of the post-New Year's White House conferences held to analyze what went wrong with the Republican Party in November and what should be done to redeem it. The Party's titular leader took an active part in the discussion, and had a straightforward diagnosis and cure. The Republicans cracked up, he explained, because under the influence of people like Richard Simpson (Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee), "that son of a bitch" ("excuse it, but I'm an old Army man"), they didn't go along with me; I'm what the people of this country want; I proved it in 1952, and I proved it over again in 1956. The way for the Republican Party to win next time is to be like me. That was the heart of the matter.

● The latest campaign by Dr. John A. Mackay's strident minority of appeasement-minded Protestant leaders has boomeranged, thanks to effective counteraction by an alert group of clergymen, among them the Reverends Daniel A. Poling and Norman Vincent Peale and Bishops Welch and Corson. Last November the appeasers induced the World Order Study Conference, meeting under the formal sponsorship of the National Council of Churches of Christ, to adopt a resolution favoring U.S. recognition of Communist China and its admission to the UN. A deceptively worded news release gave the impression that it was the National Council, speaking for most American Protestants, that favored the resolution. Suspecting that this was false in both form and substance, the clerical committee of the Committee of One Million polled 45,000 American Protestant clergymen on the issues. Of 8,572 who have responded, 7,682 (87 per cent) voted against admission and recognition, 963 (11 per cent) in favor, with 173 (2 per cent) having no opinion.

● Last week, the bells of scores of Catholic churches in and around St. Augustine, Florida, were to peal out in loud and solemn protest against the announced visit of Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan to the Sunshine State. Catholics were asked by their Bishop, Joseph Patrick Hurley, to attend special masses "on this mournful occasion when Mikoyan defiles the soil of Florida." The planned demonstration accomplished its purpose. Mikoyan cancelled his Florida trip. We commend to the State Department, Eric Johnston and the business community this lesson in how to greet visiting commissars.

● The backwash of the Mikoyan junket served to deepen the bitter division within the AFL-CIO leadership. President George Meany publicly and indignantly refused to sit down at luncheon with the blood-stained Commissar. But Walter Reuther, chief of the Auto Workers and Mr. Meany's aspiring challenger, shepherded his cohorts to the fraternal breaking of bread.

● Missionary Mikoyan did not journey among the barbarians without a modern equivalent of the traditional strings of glass beads. Shortly after his arrival, Republic Steel Company announced receipt (and acceptance) of a three-million-dollar Soviet order for a special type of cold rolled steel. Politely absent from the newspaper accounts (though discreetly mentioned in the Communist *Worker*) was the fact that highly influential in Republic Steel is Cyrus Eaton, Moscow's star convert to the gospel of appeasement.

● Fidel Castro can rest assured that he has at least one unstinting admirer in the United States. We quote from the statement of Eugene Dennis, national secretary of the U.S. Communist Party: "The Cuban people have ousted the brutal dictatorship of Batista. A national democratic front embracing the 26th of July movement, republicans, liberals, Communists and other popular forces has overthrown Wall Street's puppet. The revolutionary struggle of Fidel Castro's heroic guerrilla fighters—coupled with the decisive general strike of Cuba's workers, peasants, intellectuals and small businessmen, in which the Popular Socialist [Communist] Party played a vital part—has sounded the death knell for Batista's tyranny that was imposed and supported by Yankee imperialism. . . . The progressive forces of the United States . . . oppose all efforts by the State Department and the Pentagon to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba. They express their ardent solidarity with the freedom fighters of Cuba and join hands with them in the common anti-imperialist struggle for liberty, democracy and social advance, for peace and friendship among all nations."

● A secret memorandum to Pentagon and Defense officials from Budget Director Maurice H. Stans has pushed beyond even Rooseveltian heights the Executive's defiance of Congress' Constitution-assigned power to appropriate all public moneys, to raise and support armies, and to provide and maintain a navy.

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All officials called by Congress for questioning are warned that they must "carefully avoid volunteering views differing from the budget, either on the record or off the record," and must "make it clear that [their] personal comments are not to be construed as a request for additional funds." Congressman Daniel J. Flood asked, after getting hold of a copy: "What kind of grovelling, heel-clicking, faceless wonders will this memorandum make of Defense Department witnesses before the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees of the Congress?" We might still more relevantly inquire: Why should Congress, in the light of this instruction, bother to hold hearings?

● The State of California, whose egalitarianism is becoming, shall we say? basic, has a law forbidding any child to occupy more than 13 inches of sitting space on a school bus. Which bothered practically no one until Sergeant Herbert L. Lessley of the California Highway Patrol threatened to enforce it. Which, in turn, brings to mind several mental images: Sgt. Lessley and colleagues entering a school bus filled with wiggling, giggling children, tape measures in hand; Johnny Jones, thrown out of the bus for illegal squatting, looks up from fishing only long enough to tell the truant officer that he is 14½ (where it counts); and hastily organized "sit space" slenderizing squads in the schools. More likely, however, is a ruling by the California State Supreme Court that the 13-inch requirement is harsh and discriminatory, in the case of *Springbottom* (Oliver) v. *Board of Education.*

● Lieut. General Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Army Research and Development, addressed the American Management Association on the same noon (Jan. 14) that the First National City Bank tendered its abject luncheon to Anastas Mikoyan. Putting aside the text of his prepared talk, General Trudeau reminded his businessman audience of a few truths that their colleagues seemed to be forgetting: "It is alarming that many gullible people are willing to accept the smiling face of Mr. Mikoyan as the proof and trademark of a new-born sincerity, friendship and integrity on the part of the Soviet, despite the absence of any single action on his part to recede from or alter policies and programs that repulse the free world and foreshadow world chaos." General Trudeau, quoting Khrushchev's prediction that "one of us must go to the grave," summed up in words deliberately echoing the Constitution's treason clause: "Since by their own definition they are our enemy [to extend them credit] would clearly be giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

● "It might not be a bad idea," clucks our sister, the *Nation,* over the departed carapace of Anastas Mikoyan, "to invite *all* the members of the top Communist hierarchy to see what the United States is really like—provided, of course, that they come one at a time." Why, we wonder, the proviso? Why not all of them at once? Is the *Nation* worried that they might take *us* over if they were all here together? or that they might lose out in Russia—to persons perhaps uncongenial to the *Nation*—if they were all away?

The Courts Close In

With all deliberate speed, the state and federal courts continue to batter away at the interposed network of legal fences erected by the Southern states in their attempt to prevent or delay coerced public school integration. One by one, these laws are put to the test in the courts, reviewed in the light of *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* and, by and large, found to be unconstitutional.

Two more such barriers fell last week in Virginia, sweeping the ground away from under the legislative foundation of the Old Dominion's doctrine of massive resistance. In a matter of hours, the State Supreme Court of Appeals ruled that since the state constitution makes free public education mandatory, and since the United States Supreme Court has ruled that public schools cannot be lawfully segregated, Virginia may not use tax money collected for public education to finance segregated private instruction, as the state has been doing. In Norfolk, a federal court ruled the same day that those sections of the state's massive resistance laws which empowered the Governor to close any school in which integration had been ordered were discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional.

When taken together, these decisions mean that Virginia cannot, as she was preparing to do, support segregated private schools with state funds. Despite this, Governor Almond's immediate response was that he will not back down, that he is as "rigidly opposed" to integration as ever.

But where is Virginia—and where is the South—to turn when the last legal expedients have been exhausted? The South seems to be approaching an inexorable alternative. Either it can decide to abandon its public school system, wipe off the statute books, as some states have already done, the compulsory schooling laws, and establish a *bona fide* private school system with all the foreseeable and unforseeable complications, headaches and dislocations attendant. Or it can adopt token integration, as North Carolina has quietly done, and admit to its white schools a handful of carefully selected Negroes.

This is the solution toward which many in the

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South now are pointing. And it is a solution which some commentators—Mr. Arthur Krock prominent among them—believe has the implicit approval of the U.S. Supreme Court, through its favorable ruling two months ago on the Alabama Pupil Placement Law. Other Southerners argue that this is a trap and a come-on, a Court gesture toward moderation which could be withdrawn as soon as the South has accepted the principle of token integration, and thereby breached the flood gates. No one who has followed the conduct of the Warren Court will deny they have grounds for their suspicion.

Nuclear Tests and the Budget

The President's $77 billion stripped-to-the-bone austerity budget (see below), though it manages to find $6 billion for buying farm products that no one wants and a billion or so in small change for assorted Titos, Nehrus and Gomulkas, "does not provide for any [nuclear] weapons tests in the fiscal year 1960." We are not ones to raise an eyebrow at anything that can save a public nickel or two. Still, we wonder whether Mr. Eisenhower isn't jumping the gun (if we may use a *very* inappropriate figure of speech), just a little, on this particular penny-pinching.

As we understand it, our representatives are still sweating it out in Geneva in tough negotiations over this nuclear-test ban business. We have read in the papers that the Soviet side hasn't given in an inch to our proposals, and that agreement is still a long way off.

An agreement, if it does come, would take the form of a draft treaty, and according to an old document in the archives a treaty doesn't become valid until confirmed by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. There are a number of senators who, after listening to Admiral Lewis Strauss and Dr. Edward Teller, have publicly taken a very dim view of the idea of banning all nuclear tests.

Just in case there's a slipup somewhere along the line, mightn't it be a good idea to include a few dollars that *could* be used for tests, if we wanted just a couple more before taking the pledge? That same document we just referred to has an old-fashioned clause: "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law." It seems to follow that if nothing is provided in the budget as it passes Congress, then nothing could be spent on tests, no matter what happens in the negotiations.

Or is all that talk at Geneva just play-acting? Was the nuclear-tests ban really agreed to long ago, behind our backs, about the time (last June) when Lewis Strauss was shunted out of the Atomic Energy Commission?

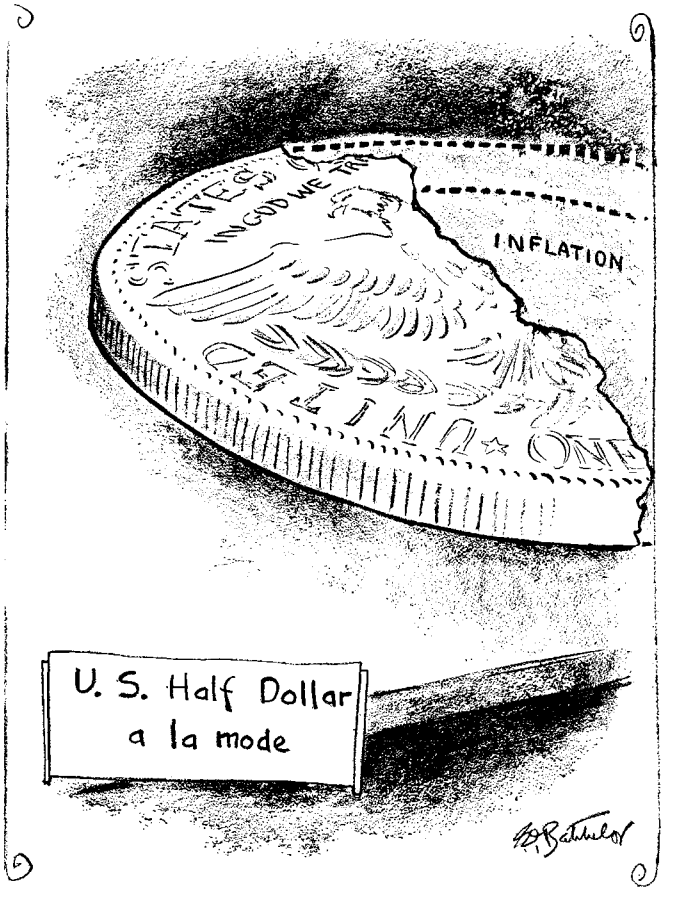
Nuclear Tests and Fallout

Our government was dragged into this test-ban palaver because a few scientists, some honest and troubled laymen, and a lot of appeasers said that mankind was being poisoned by radioactive fallout from nuclear explosions. The scientific evidence on this point is far from conclusive, but we allowed ourselves to be blackmailed by Linus Pauling, Norman Cousins, Bertrand Russell and the Kremlin propaganda machine. So we marched to Geneva. But we laid down an "absolute" condition: no test ban unless there is agreement on a "foolproof" international inspection system.

Two weeks ago the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy pried out of the White House the information that last September's tests proved that low-yield underground explosions cannot be detected.

Moreover, it has lately been disclosed that there is no fallout from the underground explosions, or (apparently) from explosions above the atmosphere (as, *e.g.*, of missiles when beyond the air envelope).

The situation is thus the following. The only fallout danger to humans—if there is danger—is from high-yield dirty bombs exploding in the atmosphere. No complicated international inspection system is required to detect such explosions. They are ade-



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quately monitored by the intelligence networks *already* operated by both sides.

Underground (and above-air) explosions cannot be accurately monitored, either by the presently existing or any other proposed system. *But at the same time such explosions do not cause any fallout danger.*

If our scientists tell us there really is a fallout danger from the high-yield tests in atmosphere, and if our soldiers give a green light, then why not propose to Moscow a simple, one-paragraph agreement to ban that sort of test? No inspection system would be necessary, since the two sides can police each other.

As for the underground and above-air tests, they have nothing to do with the fallout problem which was—or was alleged to be—the motive for negotiating in the first place. Let either side go ahead as it may choose with these non-fallout tests, for whatever civilian or military purposes it has in mind. Detection can continue to be the job—as it would be even if there were an international control system—of the professional intelligence and espionage services.

Austerity de Luxe

The President's new budget for fiscal 1960? "Austere" is the word its sponsors use. The $77 billion figure is presented as an adventure in strict economy.

Well, we suppose that when an Administration decides to advocate the spending of some four billion fewer bucks than it spent the year before it should get some credit for good intentions. Even so, it's hard to know just who is kidding whom when phrases like "austerity" are being tossed around in connection with a budget that is $5.1 billion above the figure for two scant years ago; and a whopping $12.4 billion above the budget for fiscal 1955.

Looking through the President's message, we note that the figure for Veterans' Compensation and Pensions has risen from $3.25 billion to $3.3 billion in one year; that "public assistance" calls for an expenditure of $2 billion as compared to $1.98 billion in fiscal 1959; that farm-price stabilization will take some $6 billion (we'll bet our own share of the national debt that this figure is at least a billion on the low side when statutory commitments to farmers have been honored); and that the conservation of water resources calls for slightly more than the $1.2 billion in last year's budget. With these figures in mind, we submit that the President's notions of "austerity" owe more to a study of the career of Lorenzo de Medici than to that of Benjamin Franklin.

When the Democrats—and the pre-existing laws governing such things as agricultural benefits and assistance to veterans—have had their way with President Eisenhower's budget, the attempt to hold spending to $77 billion may seem in retrospect to have been a hope that was at once pious and forlorn. Nevertheless, when a President recommends that we spend $440 for every man, woman and child in the population it isn't exactly economy. Allowing for an average of four people to a family, that's more than sixteen hundred dollars extracted from every household in the United States.

A Shiny Apple for Teacher

Not so long ago Professor Eric Goldman of Princeton had a bright idea. As an "intellectual exercise," he would put fifteen of his top students to work at "redrafting" the U.S. Constitution to bring it up to date.

Well, the boys went to work. What they came up with was a series of recommendations designed to blow to smithereens what remains of the old division of powers between the states and the federal government, and between the executive and the legislative arms of the federal government. The students voted 1) to recommend a direct federal guarantee of non-segregated education through high school; 2) to give the President the power to regulate the nation's international commerce; 3) to abolish Senate confirmation of treaties; 4) to abolish the Electoral College in favor of a direct plebiscite, etc., etc. In short, they gave Teacher back what he had taught them.

Offhand, one might think that the students in a great university which numbers James Madison, the chief architect of the original Constitution, among its more illustrious graduates would show a little solicitude for Madison's own political thinking. But apparently Princeton students don't read Madison these days.

The next thing you know someone will be subsidizing the James Madison Chair of Government at Princeton. And nobody on the premises will consider it the least bit ironical when Professor Goldman is nominated to fill the position.

"What so False as Truth Is, False to Thee?"

The National Science Foundation (*i.e.*, the U.S. Government) has awarded $90,000 to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer for two years research into fundamental physical theory. In the nature of the case there can be no review of the use to which the money is put. And it is right that no review should be made of expenditures on research by top scientists. Bureaucratic review could hardly be anything except an impediment and a further expense, while the judgment of

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Some Westminster Notes

Somebody said, the other day, when we were talking about the new jet service to Europe, that in twenty or thirty years people will be traveling abroad by rocket. New York will then be fifteen minutes from Paris, or closer than the Empire State Building seems ever likely to be to Rockefeller Center by Fifth Avenue bus. Nobody saw anything wildly improbable in the notion.

Still, the mind is not yet committed to the shortest distance between two points as invariably the best of all possible ways to get somewhere. The mulish mind may still prefer detours, precisely because they digress.

Just before Christmas, somebody sent me a French book, part of whose leisurely title reads: *Five Essays on the History of Ideas in Russia and Europe.* Essay I begins: "Between 1758 and 1762, Koenigsberg was occupied by Russian troops under General Fermor. In the old Collegium Albertinum—as the university was called—a thirty-five-year-old professor, of somewhat timid appearance, announced a course in physics for 'Messieurs, the Russian officers.'"

This was news to me and I found it fascinating. As if the author invited us to peer into the least likely of peepholes, and what we saw, incredulously, was the dark backward and abysm of time, with (somewhere down below) the greatest of all human centuries (I mean, of course, our own), squirming, germlike, at one of its countless, forgotten points of origin—Koenigsberg, 1758.

This is not just because Koenigsberg, easternmost of provincial German towns, has lately been next-door neighbor to Peenemunde, the experimental rocket base. Nor is it because, even more lately, we have seen Koenigsberg become Kaliningrad, not merely Russian-occupied this time, but annexed outright as the westernmost of Soviet cities. Nor is it that the timid-looking science teacher was Immanuel Kant, "unknown as yet even in Germany" —the author (to be) of *The Critique of Pure Reason,* schoolmastering the forerunners of the enveloping East. What arrests is rather (with the Sputniks in mind) the thought of Russian officers, enlivening the tedium of that earlier occupation by getting up their physics. And, indeed, physics and politics have been in curious (and often violently unstable) mixture throughout the last 200 years. Not only in Koenigsberg—or, see your morning newspaper.

And with that, the mind is off on a little ramble. With the Koenigsberg classroom as center, it scans the horizon of that time in search of anything else that may be curiously lurking in it. The mind stops, arbitrarily, with a child.

In 1758, Lazare Carnot was only five years old. Who gives a thought to Carnot today, though he was an engineering and military head of the first rank, of whose achievements Napoleon made full use, but whose genius Napoleon's masks, somewhat as Bach's so long masked Buxtehude's? It would be some years after Koenigsberg before Carnot whipped up his first important paper: *Essay on Machines in General.* A few years more, and he would organize from scratch, and in one year, the French Revolution's fourteen armies; and, almost singlehanded, elaborate their innovating strategy and tactics. Accomplishment enough so that, when the many tongues that wag in the many heads that do not think, cried out for his arrest during some terrorist spasm, they could be silenced by a single voice which asked: "Would you dare to lay hands on the organizer of victory?" So Fate, who now and again prefers irony to the knife, let Carnot live, to die an exile in Schoolmaster Kant's Germany.

To Lavoisier, who is on the Koenigsberg horizon, too—his first interest physics, like Kant's Russian officers'—Fate turned the cutting edge. That brilliant brain was cancelled at the neck by the guillotine—the murderous technical improvement that the Revolution contributed to progress, along with certain other innovations that are with us still. For example, conscription, mass armies, the concept of the nation in arms (in part Carnot's brainchild, and necessity's).

True, in our day some have sought to undo that business of mass armies. Among them, a master of French prose and author of a treatise, celebrated chiefly among specialists: *Vers une Armée de Métier—Toward a Professional Army.* The master of prose (and of much else French at the moment) is, of course, General Charles de Gaulle.

With that the circling mind has circled back to the thoroughfare of here and now. And just in time for some sensational traffic. For while I was shuffling these bits and pieces, the Russians sent up that rocket which, missing the moon, has gone on, they tell us, to orbit the sun. 1758 to 1958 plus two. Lunik, Kant (of all people), facing an all but forgotten roomful of Russian officers. At last the impulse takes form in a trajectory that bursts Earth's gravitational field. A wall has fallen. Nobody knows how many other walls, of the mind, of reality, fell with it, unnoticed. Which reminds me that, in the far-off 1920s, one of my fellow undergraduates had this to say of (and to) his age:

Once in unpeopled Nineveh,
Where no one heard the sound,
The human-headed bull of god,
Crashed outward to the ground.

Such ways, the solitary mind
Strains backward, year on year.
Are all the walls at Nineveh
Whose crash we do not hear?

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

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scientific peers, if it is not forthcoming in the normal conversation of the fraternity, is a nonprocurable item. You simply don't give money to top scientists unless you trust them.

That reminds us. A few years ago there was something in the papers about Dr. Oppenheimer's having told a lot of lies to various officers of the government. It is perhaps indecorous to mention the matter again. Is it right to suggest that the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study may be untruthful?

Well, he has said that he was.

Yes. Well, but you know what a—Look! The guy is a top scientist. What are you, an anti-intellectual or something? Aren't you willing to spend a lousy $90,000 on scientific research?

How do I know he will spend it on scientific research? You know I'm not a scientist. I can't tell what he's doing with it.

Oh, for heaven's sake! You've got to trust—*Because*, see! Just BECAUSE. Now give him the money and SHUT UP.

Communists Know Their Enemy

The drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities is under way, with big-name sponsors—Mr. James Roosevelt, the happy little warrior of anti-anti-Communism, backed by a publicized petition from his mother and her friends. It is not likely that the Committee's enemies will prevail, but there is no questioning their resolve or the generalship of the movement.

It is safe to generalize that the Communist Party is masterminding the drive against the Committee. The non-Communist American Civil Liberties Union continues in its doctrinaire opposition to the House Committee, but President Patrick Malin counselled his members not to join in the drive for abolition because of the "hard reality" that Operation Abolition suffers from the lack of "organizational support," by which he means non-Communist organizational support. The best way to do away with the Committee, Mr. Malin argues, is to continue to pluck its feathers; do that long enough, and—lo and behold—one day the Committee won't be able to fly.

Organizational direction is being given primarily by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, an organization dominated by pro-Communists. That committee, and the runaway ACLU chapter in Los Angeles which will never forgive the Un-American Activities Committee for inconveniencing some local Communists, have done their best to harness South California Democrats. What is conspicuously lacking in the rhetoric against the Committee these days is specified complaints against the Committee's handling of witnesses, which is in fact governed by a rigorous code of its own adoption. Rather, the attack, as brought forward by Mr. Roosevelt on the floor of the House, is based on the fact that ever since the *Watkins* decision of the Supreme Court, the Committee has operated under a "cloud of legal uncertainty."

The House Committee on Un-American Activities remains the symbol of a corporate national attitude against Communism. It is as important to the cause of anti-Communism that it remain active, as it is to the cause of Communism that it be liquidated.

Our Contributors: ALICE-LEONE MOATS ("Italian Labor: Primitive Unionism") writes from personal observation in Italy, where she is at present living. She will be remembered by our readers for "The Strange Past of Fidel Castro" (August 24, 1957). . . . W. H. AUDEN ("The Co-Inherence") is the well-known Anglo-American poet, playwright and editor. His book of poetry, *The Shield of Achilles*, won the National Book Award for 1956.

On Nov. 15, 1958 . . .

. . . *the* NATIONAL REVIEW *Bulletin reported:*

"Tibetan tribesmen have revolted against Chinese Communist rule and have killed about 50,000 Chinese. . . The revolt was reported to have spread from Kham across the rugged country where high mountains, narrow trails and the weather combine to give Tibetan guerrillas an advantage. . . The main road out of Tibet was closed in October."

On Dec. 26, 1958 . . .

. . . *a headlined* UPI *dispatch stated:*

"Anti-Communist revolt in Tibet has spread from local guerrilla action confined to the eastern provinces of Amdo and Kham to an all-national uprising against the Chinese occupation. The Tibetans have killed tens of thousands of Communists, and blown up bridges, roads and airfields. . . The governments (and the press) of the free world . . . have declined even to recognize the revolt's existence."

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The Two Faces of Dr. King

A. B. H.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, who wants to be "the white man's brother, not his brother-in-law," is pastor of the 4,000 members of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, organizer and hands-down winner of the famous Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, and author of the recent and very successful book *Stride Toward Freedom*. As a matter of fact, in all of his 29 years, King's fairy godmother has mismanaged his career only once: when, last fall, she allowed him to be seriously stabbed a) by a Negro, unfortunately, b) in the North, unfortunately, and c) for no ideological reason whatsoever, unfortunately.

The Yale Undergraduate Lecture Committee invited Dr. King to succeed Walter Reuther on its 1958-1959 program with an address in the University's 2,000-seat Woolsey Hall. One seat, Wednesday a week ago, was occupied by me—under orders.

The soberly-dressed, "clerky" little man who followed his host to the rostrum in Woolsey Hall at exactly 7:30 p.m. seemed oddly unsuited to his unmentioned but implicit role of propagandist. He was self-assured, but totally unassuming; courteous without a trace of cordiality. Let me say at once, for the benefit of the wicked, fearful South, that Martin Luther King will never rouse a rabble; in fact, I doubt very much whether he could keep a rabble awake, if it were past its bedtime. His lecture, which he read from beginning to end, was couched in prose that can only be called maroon, but it was delivered with all the force and fervor of the five-year-old who nightly recites: "Our Father, Who art in New Haven, Harold be Thy name."

After reading his great pleasure at sharing a program series with his "good friend, the great Walter Reuther," Dr. King read (well, of course, out loud!) that the Negro had been free in fact only since 1954, because, since segregation is "a form of slavery covered up with certain niceties of complexity" it had had the effect of "plunging the Negro in the abyss of oppression [and the depths of depression, too, wouldn't you imagine?] where he experienced the bleakness of nagging injustice." The history of Negro freedom in the United States (post-Dred Scott, I presume), according to Dr. King, is actually a history of Supreme Court decisions, the last of which is, of course, the greatest. In each of these decisions "the Supreme Court gave validity to the prevailing mores of the times." (*That's* how they decide, you see? They look up the prevailing mores—probably in the Sunday *New York Times*.) The great 1954 decision, King read on, has been met by "the powers of compliance and the powers of defiance," and the latter are "riddled by morbid fears and perverted hatreds." The powers of compliance are represented by "hundreds" of good Southerners who have brought about integration in many colleges, railway lavatories and ministerial associations. (Well, *I* thought it was an odd order to put them in myself. I'm just telling you what he said.)

With Reuther's Aid

In the future, the reactionary white South will try, by all sorts of legal maneuvers and economic pressures, not to *delay*—be not misled— but actually to *overthrow* the Supreme Court decision. Nevertheless, victory is inevitable for the Good Guys. The wicked South will go down before four irresistible forces: *organized labor*, under Walter Reuther, Friend of the Negro (Dr. King's capitals) which, with the rapidly increasing industrialization of the South, will very soon exert there the same, or even more, "politico-social" influence than it now wields in the rest of the country (Tahiti, anyone?); the *federal government* which is in the process of changing (*i.e., regulating*) all phases of life; *the churches*, which as they gain in strength, will make the transition between segregation and integration "infinitely smooth"; and last, *Negro determination*—for the Negro, "once plagued with the tragic sins of inferiority from the twin evils of slavery and segregation" now faces the future with courage. The Negro must, however, expect suffering and sacrifice, which he must resist without violence, for this kind of resistance will leave the violent segregationist "glutted with his own barbarity. Forced to stand before the world and his God splattered with the blood and reeking with the stench of his Negro brother, he will call an end to his self-defeating massacre." (I don't think he'd really *examined* that one, do you?)

And so, concluded Dr. King, "integration will be accepted by the hearts of men when it is considered morally right" (it's the other organs, I guess, that will accept it when Walter Reuther, the federal government, the churches and Negro determination get into their stride). Finally: "We hold these truths to be self-evident . . ." read Dr. King. "Blessed are you when men shall revile you . . ." read Dr. King. "Then at last [I *know* you'll guess this one] this will be 'the land of the free and . . .'"

In the words of an editorial from next morning's Yale *Daily News*, ". . . a bearded white listener rose, then a whole row, and then a standing ovation." Did you ever see a standing ovation rise? It's *most* interesting! Anyway, I rose too and applauded heartily. *I* was applauding Dr. King for not saying "the truth shall make you free," because actually it took the Supreme Court, in this case, didn't it?

Curious Inconsistency

In the comfortable informality of a student lounge of Dwight Hall, where a discussion period for undergraduates followed the lecture, I saw an entirely different Martin Luther King in action. Here was no trace of the sing-song "culluh'd preachuh" chant, the incongruously gaudy phrases. Here was a man whose mind was unswervingly fixed on whatever problem happened to be under consideration; who answered each question, no matter how foolish or how trivial, with exactly the same degree of sober concentration; who treated every student with the same unswerving at-

(*Continued on p. 486*)

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Italian Labor: Primitive Unionism

Italian unions, says the author, are a political arena, largely because they lack a long tradition and an understanding of the meaning of democracy

ALICE-LEONE MOATS

Italian private industry has been more successful than Italian conservative political parties in fighting Communism. Although the results of the general election held in May of last year were hailed as a triumph for the Right, they were nothing of the kind: the Demo Christians merely drew votes away from *other* right wing parties, in no way undermining the strength of the Communists and the equally red Nenni Socialists. On the other hand, in last April's shop steward elections at the Fiat plants in Turin the Communist union won only 25.3 per cent of the workers' votes, as against 75.9 per cent in 1948.

The Communist union also lost ground in other privately owned industries, but its drop in popularity was most marked at Fiat, the first to put the Reds on the defensive. This feat, added to the company's importance in the free world as a major contributor to NATO (it turns out ship and airplane engines as well as automobiles and trucks) makes Fiat the focus of Italian private industry today.

CGIL *(Confederazione Generale Italiana di Lavoro)* the labor federation run by Communists and Nenni Socialists, directs its most violent attacks against Fiat and its president, Professor Valletta. When I asked a Nenni Socialist union official, "To what do you ascribe the beating you have taken in the shop steward elections?" he answered in two words, "Valletta's toughness." A Communist union official to whom I put the same question snapped back even more tersely, "Valletta!" For once, the Italian Reds have found themselves up against an adversary who is tough, single-minded in his determination to lick them, and quite willing to step into the ring to slug it out.

At all times it is futile to study a subject taken out of context, but it is more than futile to try to understand the present labor situation in Italy without setting it against its proper background. We Americans have heard so much about the youthfulness of the United States that we tend to forget that there are nations far younger than ours: as a nation, Italy is less than one hundred years old; its present form of government dates from the end of World War Two; trade unionism is still in its infancy, and suffering badly from growing pains.

The first Italian union was formed in 1906. It was soon followed by others, none of which made much of a mark on the industrial world because the Catholic and Socialist unions spent more time and energy in battling each other than they did in bringing pressure on management for better wages and working conditions. The only solid achievement of which they could boast was forcing management to recognize and accept the shop steward committees. These committees are elected by the employees of each plant and serve as their spokesmen before management. They are the one real expression of Italian trade unionism, the one aspect with any tradition to fall back on.

Mussolini to Togliatti

In 1926, Mussolini abolished all existing unions, replacing them with a single labor federation, with membership compulsory for all workers. As soon as Mussolini fell, the political parties that had been underground for more than twenty years came to the surface again, and recalling the trade unions of the old days, decided to reestablish them. But they had been so conditioned by Fascism that they thought in terms of a single, monolithic structure.

When they formed the CGIL they merely added a few democratic curlicues by no longer making it compulsory for a worker to belong to the union, and by setting up a directorate of three men, each representing one of the leading political parties. It was preposterous to suppose such a triumvirate, made up of a Communist, a Demo Christian, and a Socialist, could function harmoniously and efficiently. The federation became, not a clear-cut labor association, but an appendage of the government, a football to be kicked around in political scrimmages.

There are in Italy no laws on the books governing trade unions. The results of such a curious omission are sometimes serious, sometimes comic, and always confusing. Work contracts, for instance, are private documents drawn up between the unions and *Confindustria,* management's union, which, though somewhat similar to our National Association of Manufacturers, enjoys far greater powers and a wider sphere of action. In the south, unions continually run into trouble with industrialists, who blandly maintain that they are not bound by work contracts because they don't belong to *Confindustria.* There is a law permitting workers to strike, but none giving unions the privilege of declaring a strike. In practice, however, it is the unions that give the signal. Since a union has no legal entity, it may not own property and must set up a dummy corporation to buy a building for its headquarters.

In spite of the naive way in which the CGIL was formed, things went along fairly quietly until 1947. By then, the Communists, better organized, better trained as union officials, more aware of the political potentialities of controlling the only labor federation in the country, had managed to take over the key posts in every provincial headquarters, every factory. At the CGIL congress held in Florence that year, they proved to be

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strong enough to push through a change in the system of proportional representation, and the stunned Demo Christians found themselves in the minority. Once the Reds were securely in the driver's seat, they set to work fomenting agitation, calling strikes, doing anything and everything to create disorder in the country. Very little of the disturbance stirred up in labor's name had any connection with legitimate labor grievances.

Three-Way Split

In July 1948, an attempt was made on Togliatti's life which the Communists chose to interpret as a politically motivated attack, even though it was generally agreed that Pallante, the would-be assassin, was nothing but a lunatic. In reprisal, the CGIL declared a general strike, and the Demo Christians finally saw the handwriting on the wall. The labor attaché at the U. S. Embassy warned Pastore, the Demo Christian member of the union triumvirate, that he must act immediately if the Communists were to be prevented from taking over the entire country.

Pastore, accompanied by Scelba, then the Minister of Interior, rushed to a radio station, where he broadcast an appeal to the workers to stay on their jobs, and was sufficiently eloquent to persuade a good proportion of the men to disobey the CGIL order. Next, a Christian association of workers, organized for purely social and cultural purposes, held a meeting under the chairmanship of Gronchi, at which it was decided to form a new union, *Confederazione Italiana Sindicale di Lavoro* (CISL).

Shortly afterwards, the Social Democrats and the Republicans broke away in their turn, organizing the *Unione Italiana di Lavor* (UIL). Now, there are three labor federations, which for purposes of clarity can best be referred to as the Communist, the Demo Christian, the Saragat Socialist.

When there was a single labor federation, it had eight million members out of a total of nine million workers; today, only five million workers belong to unions. The men have dropped away partly through disillusionment with the unions' handling of labor problems, but principally through reaction to the Fascist days when everybody was forced to hold a union card. The workers are still relishing the wonderfully free feeling of belonging to nothing at all. Objective labor experts estimate that the Communist union has about three million members, the Demo Christian one and a half million, the Saragat socialist half a million.

All three federations are subsidized from abroad: the Communist by the Russians, the Demo Christian by the Americans (through the AFL), the Saragat Socialist by international Socialist unions. Only the Reds bother to deny that they are financed from outside. Simple mathematics make the denial a waste of breath. In all three federations, union cards cost from eight to sixteen cents, a particularly unimpressive sum when set against the fact that the Communists, in order to attract members, give away about as many cards as they sell. Dues run from sixteen to 48 cents a month, but the workers are careless about paying them. In the scramble for members, no union is going to risk sending a worker into the arms of a rival organization by dunning him. So, the huge amounts of cash needed for salaries, strike money, office buildings, and above all, political campaigns, have to come from abroad.

It is startling enough to think of unions being supported by foreign money; it is more than startling, when union officials double in brass as senators or deputies, meaning that dollars or rubles or pounds or francs help to put them in Parliament.

Fiat Stages a Coup

There is another aspect in which Italian unions differ from ours: they and management are not supposed to have direct dealings with one another. All major matters such as contracts, agreements on base pay, working hours etc., are settled between *Confindustria* and a group of officials representing the unions. Management has contact only with the shop steward committees whose functions are meant to be restricted to questions that arise within the factory itself. They are there to enforce agreements made at the higher level, to settle disputes in the plant, to bring individual grievances to the attention of the management. Recently, however, the shop steward committees have overstepped the limits set for their activities because Fiat saw in them a handy tool for loosening the hold of the Communist union.

Although the lists of candidates for the yearly shop steward elections in the 29 plants are presented by the provincial secretaries of the unions, every employee and worker votes on them, whether or not he holds a union card. Thus, the shop steward committees represent the entire personnel, and it was the entire personnel that the Fiat management wanted to reach. For this purpose, it broke with precedent by entering into negotiations with the shop steward representatives of the democratic unions whenever it offered higher wages, shorter hours, improvement in working conditions. In that way, the Demo Christians and Socialists have been able to take the credit for Fiat's paying 90 per cent more than the base pay stipulated in the work contracts, and for its instituting a 44-hour week, though the contracts still call for 48 hours.

Decline of Communist Labor

Fiat's policy showed results almost immediately. The Communist union began to lose votes in 1949 and declined steadily until 1957, when it hit a low of 21.1 per cent. The success of Fiat had an effect on other industries because, even when the anti-Communist unions were in the minority, they could show proof of being able to obtain greater concessions from management and of doing more for the workers than the CGIL had ever done.

Of course, there were other factors besides Fiat's tactics involved in the decline of the CGIL. The U.S. government played a part by refusing to award off-shore procurement contracts or to grant loans to companies where the Communist union was predominant. Many of the workers, thinking of their bread and butter, voted for CISL and UIL, and their conversion may not have been permanent. Then came the Hungarian revolution, causing a wave of revulsion against the Reds. There were nearly 3,000 blank votes cast in the 1957 Fiat shop steward elections in protest against Communist atrocities.

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Last year, when the CGIL picked up by a little more than 4 per cent, the Communist newspaper, *Unitá*, waited to publish the results of the Fiat elections until a meeting had been held at party headquarters in Rome to determine whether the very slight increase should be blamed on interference by management or whether it should be greeted with cries of joy as indicating the first step in a comeback. The latter course was adopted though the gain was infinitesimal considering that, owing to a break in the ranks of the Demo Christian union, the elections were held under the most favorable conditions for CGIL.

Uncomfortable Alliance

The ins and outs of Italian labor quarrels are invariably complicated to follow—the one preceding last year's elections is a real labyrinth. The trouble stems back to the period when there was a single labor federation and Rappelli, a trade-unionist of pre-Fascist times, held the post of Demo Christian representative in the directorate. He fell ill—according to his friends, he had a nervous breakdown; according to his enemies, he went mad—and his seat was taken by Pastore. When Rappelli left the sanitarium, Pastore refused to step down and assigned him to a subordinate position in the CISL. Rappelli, looking around for a labor base from which to work back to power, selected Edoardo Arrighi, the chairman of the shop steward committees at Fiat, as the right man to provide the base.

Arrighi is a good speaker and a writer with a clear, concise style, but he is no politician, for he doesn't understand the art of compromise and he has a sense of humor. Small, neat, brown and sleek as an otter, bald-headed, he sports a beard like Lenin's. The beard, however, is as far as the resemblance goes; he is sincerely, fiercely anti-Communist, and absolutely intransigent in his attitude towards the Reds. A born maverick with a deceptively quiet manner, he is described even by his admirers as an uncomfortable bedfellow.

During the general strike in 1948, Arrighi insisted upon his right to go in and out of the plant at will, an attitude so little to the liking of the Communists that he was set upon by goons one night and received a very bad beating. Thrown out of the CGIL because of the stand he had taken, Arrighi joined the CISL, only to be thrown out of that in 1953.

This expulsion came about as the result of a trip Arrighi took to the United States on a Fulbright grant. While he was on a visit to Detroit, he warned AFL officials that they were wasting their money in Italy. His argument was that anybody who gives an organization money should insist upon having an explicit definition of the organization's program and aims, and then should be equally insistent upon having the program carried out and the aims achieved. And an exact accounting of the money should be demanded. Arrighi didn't consider that the Demo Christian labor federation had met any of these conditions. He was recalled to Italy and expelled from the CISL.

He promptly formed a labor group of his own, but in 1955 Pastore, apparently deeming it wiser to forgive, took Arrighi back into the CISL. On March 12, 1958, he was bounced out again. The reasons given for the second expulsion did not include the basic one: his alliance with Rappelli.

Labor Leaders as Politicians

The danger of having union leaders who are also politicians is that they are likely to use union issues as campaign material. In every election, 20 to 25 per cent of the votes are preferential—that is, the voters state the candidates they prefer, instead of merely casting a ballot for a certain party. Rappelli was running for election as a deputy, and if he had shown great strength in the preferential voting he might have become a real threat to Pastore in the labor world.

The conflict came into the open when Arrighi and his friends made up the CISL lists for the shop steward elections at Fiat, carefully excluding the names of those closest to Pastore and the federation. Pastore retaliated by having the Joint General Secretary of CISL demand that the candidates be selected by the federation and FIM, the CISL metal workers' union. In other words, the top union officials would decide whom they wanted, regardless of how the men in the shops felt about it. Arrighi refused to alter his list, and was expelled by CISL for insubordination, while Pastore set up an outcry that management was interfering, that it was siding with Arrighi.

Certainly the Fiat management had no reason to be feeling very friendly towards the head of CISL. In January 1958, Pastore started to prepare the ground for his re-election to Parliament by taking pot shots at private industry, went on to abandon his policy of separate agreements with management, and his policy of treating the Communist labor federation as an enemy. He even took up the cudgels for CGIL, charging that Fiat was using undemocratic methods against it. He wept for some 250 Communists who had been fired from Fiat, going into heartbreaking accounts of men who had committed suicide after losing their jobs, leaving starving wives, children, grandchildren, grandmothers, cousins and aunts. It was all very moving and might have been more affecting if Pastore had raised a protest when the dismissals occurred.

The final outcome of all this excitement stirred up in labor's name from purely political motives, was that Arrighi re-formed the union he had fathered during his earlier expulsion from the CISL and presented his own list of candidates, winning 31.2 per cent of the votes, while CISL got 12.9 per cent, and the Communist union showed an improvement over the previous year.

On the political front, the results were different: although Rappelli was elected, he ran eleventh on a list of eleven; Pastore greatly increased his majority in the preferential voting, and when the cabinet was formed, he received the portfolio of Minister for the Development of Southern Italy and Depressed Areas. The Demo Christian union won 35 seats in the House of Deputies and one in the Senate—in all, fourteen more than it had held before.

What will happen next on the labor front is anybody's guess. The only certainty is that Arrighi will not be taken back into the CISL. It was a victory for Pastore, but not an absolute one. Arrighi has been left with a powerful weapon in the shape of a newspaper called *Lavoratore Fiat*, which, though founded as a CISL organ, now belongs to Arrighi and six other men.

Fiat may consider it advisable to

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ease the tension by making Arrighi head of the cooperative movement, or a delegate to the common European market. Another alternative could be the expansion of Arrighi's group as an industrial union that might one day become a European Automobile Workers' Union. The difficulty there is that the movement has already spread to the chemical and mining industries.

Long Road Ahead

In a democracy, there is nothing against a man leaving one organization in order to form another along lines he prefers, and Arrighi might have been allowed to make the break without interference if it weren't for the specter of Communism. "We must preserve a united front," the anti-Communists keep chanting, even when they aren't doing it. Pressure from outside is also for a united front. The International Christian Union, which has made an exception by recognizing two labor federations in Italy, keeps urging CISL and UIL to merge—an improbable consolidation since it would pain the anti-clerical Saragat Socialists to join hands with a militantly Catholic group.

American labor and the American government both shouted, "Sit down, sit down, you're rockin' de boat!" when Arrighi stepped onto the stage. It is part of the paradox that marks the whole labor situation in Italy that Americans should be against Arrighi, whose intransigence towards Communism should give him a high place in their regard. Also, his views on union matters are very much in keeping with ours. He wants the workers to have a strong voice in the management of unions. At present, the leaders make the decisions, and the workers are expected to follow orders. There are no set dates for congresses; the leaders hold them when they like and there are seldom more than fifty members present.

He also wants unions to stop playing the role they now do in politics. Arrighi is of the opinion that labor should bring pressure on politicians, instead of the other way round. Above all, he feels that unions should be self-supporting, must stop depending on foreign money. He is convinced that if they were detached from politics, and if enough expert union leaders were trained, the workers would begin to have confidence in labor federations and would be willing not only to join, but also to pay adequate dues.

Whatever the final outcome of the present wrangle, it is sure not to be the last one—Italian trade unionism still has a long way to go before it becomes a reputable and stable institution. It has some very serious handicaps to overcome: 1) the lack of any legal standing; 2) the lack of trained union officials; 3) the attitude of union officials who regard their jobs in a labor federation as stepping stones toward Parliament; 4) the tremendous difference between the industrial development in the north and the south, with a corresponding gap in wages; 5) the unemployment figures (there are two million jobless in Italy) which create an employer's market and prevent strikes from being effective.

The greatest handicap of all is the very foggy notion most Italians have of the meaning of the word democracy, which they now use and misuse to suit political exigencies and their own whims. One need only observe the way an Italian behaves in a theater or behind the wheel of a car to get an idea of how little he knows about the basic principles of democracy. Without the discipline imposed by those basic principles, the real purpose of trade unionism is apt to get lost in a scramble for power.

THE TWO FACES OF DR. KING

(*Continued from p. 482*)

tention and the same grave respect. Incidentally, I also saw in Dwight Hall, an entirely different Yale undergraduate in action. Mrs. Roosevelt would have envied King the old-world chivalry with which he was treated by these young hellions, members of a student body which, by tradition, prides itself on giving visiting speakers "a hard time." Rather endearingly, I thought, young Yale manifested its psychological non-integration only by the gentle courtesy with which it treated its visitor.

Martin Luther King, it developed, relies almost totally on force of one kind or another to accomplish integration. Since he not only preaches, but personally practices, non-violence —several times under the most extreme provocation—it seems curiously inconsistent to hear him, time after time, suggest power, or force—the force of labor, of legislation, of federal strength—as the solution to a given problem. Also, or perhaps therefore, there seems to be no area of activity, no phase of human life which King does not consider a legitimate subject for federal concern and federal regulation. For instance: How could Dr. King pin his hopes on labor unions, asked one student, when the *Nation,* the *New Republic* and the *Reporter* all agreed that Southern unions oppose integration? He had not meant to refer to Southern unions, King said. He meant that as industry moved South, as labor became more and more powerful, Walter Reuther's AFL-CIO, for instance, would assume control and *enforce* integration.

Later, in answer to a Western boy who complained that his integrated high-school-mates socially segregated themselves the instant the dismissal bell rang, Dr. King opined that this was principally a matter of education, of a conscious, concerted effort to foster complete social integration. But Negroes in the North often segregate themselves, protested a West Indian boy. Well, of course, King admitted, the field of legislated integration had hardly been tapped. However, a wide-eyed boy burst out, weren't we aiming for *complete* social acceptance? How, and how far did Dr. King think it would be feasible to legislate it? Dr. King must have sensed a snake-in-the-grass (as did I). Well, now, he drawled, practically smiling, legislation doesn't try to control an individual's opinions; it just tries to control the external application of those opinions. "The law can't make a white man *like* me, but it can kinda try to keep him from lynchin' me!" (*Succès fou.*)

When it had been annouced that it was time for Dr. King to leave, one boy nervously blurted out a question on the constitutionality of the decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* in the course of which he got so frightfully stuck on the word "sociological" that everybody got the impression that he was criticizing the Supreme Court for being *socialist,* so the evening ended on a wave of general jollity and merriment.

I'm glad I went. In a way.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Death Throes of a Proud Party

The Conservative-Liberal rift in the Republican Party has become an apparently permanent feud. Deep ideological differences, of course, were always there; but there was always someone, notably the President, who said they weren't; and the disputants themselves, for the sake of party solidarity, tended to go along with the act. Now, the President has lost interest in playing peacemaker. And the disputants, accepting the futility of closing ranks for a lost cause, have begun to call spades spades . . . All things considered, this is probably the best way for a proud party to die: Lincoln would have preferred his ship to break up on the rock of principle —the way it was put together.

The Liberals were the first to call the turn. The absurd Aiken-Cooper "revolt" in the Senate, earlier this month, made sense only as a declaration of ideological war—the rebels did not have the votes to overturn the Bridges leadership. The conservatives were slow to take up the challenge. Senator Bridges offered a compromise: he would give the Liberals the party-whip post in return for peaceful acceptance of his man Dirksen as floor leader. The Liberals—encouraged, as this correspondent has it, by the Vice President who wanted a show of GOP modernism in Congress—rejected the compromise. The conservatives thereupon decided to press for full control and chose Senator Mundt as their candidate for whip. But the leadership's earlier talk about "party unity" had taken its toll: a few conservatives went their own way, voting for Kuchel for whip, and thus imposing the "compromise."

After Mundt's defeat, the Bridges group concluded that the situation called for an offensive strategy. The Liberals might be a minority but their aggressive tactics, coupled apparently with the support of both Presidential contenders, threatened to cast the whole party in a mold of middle-of-the-roadism in 1960. Accordingly, the conservatives threw down the nearest gauntlet: Senator Goldwater would stand for chairman of the Senate Campaign Committee. Grim Liberal opposition was predictable, for Goldwater personified the hated Right-to-Work issue; he could be counted on, moreover, to give an across-the-board conservative tone to the 1960 congressional campaign.

Last week, Goldwater said he hadn't wanted the campaign chairmanship, for personal reasons, but added: "since [the Liberals] want to make a fight of it, I will win it." He undoubtedly will. And more: he seems anxious to press the campaign against compulsory unionism (he has already undertaken a survey to nail down exactly how Right-to-Work fared in 1958) and to make the issue a part of as many 1960 campaigns as willing candidates can be found.

Then, on a radio program Sunday, Goldwater stole a psychological march on the Liberals. In effect, he read *them* out of the party. In the past, it has been the modernists who have suggested that their opponents might feel more at home elsewhere.

Goldwater identified his targets only as "voices within the party that want to destroy the last vestige of conservatism." Since they have "no compatibility with Republican philosophy," he said, they might just as well follow the lead of Senator Morse.

The Liberals' reply to Goldwater and the conservatives should begin to take shape in Des Moines. The GOP National Committee meets there this week to take stock of things and to map out *its* strategy for 1960. And there the Liberals will have the votes. Since the beginning of the Eisenhower years, the National Committee and the congressional committees have been at odds—the former tending to endorse the Administration's modernist policies; the latter, to resist them. Today the two centers of power are scarcely on speaking terms. Representative Richard Simpson, chairman of the House committee, has been duly invited to Des Moines, and will go: but more or less for the ride. The National Executive Committee has advised Simpson that it has a "plan" for 1960 to submit to the meeting, but it has not deigned to tell him or his Senate counterparts what is in it, let alone consult them.

A stalemate between the contending forces is thus already in being. And this is the way the Republican Party seems destined to spend its last days: an alliance of two unreconcilable factions; each morally certain that coexistence with the other precludes success; each too weak to break off from the other and stand alone; each searching, with growing consciousness of its needs, for a more hospitable environment.

For their part, GOP conservatives are coming to understand that acquiring national power entails association with their natural allies, the Southern Democrats. But no moves toward fusion have occurred; and none sponsored by the two leaderships is likely to, since, at the moment, the risks of a new alliance are greater than those of sticking with the old ones. Outside the parties, however, there *is* some activity. Thus, Americans for Constitutional Action, a financial operation with thoughtful and realistic designs on conservatives' pocketbooks, is moving into action this month on behalf of the right wings of *both* parties. The ACA plan is simple and altogether feasible: a goal of $500,000 by April; specific quotas for all large and medium-sized U.S. cities; a leading citizen in each city to call a meeting at which pledges will be asked after a filmed appeal by ACA Chairman Admiral Ben Moreell; an agreement to distribute the money to conservative candidates on the recommendation of local groups, provided the local groups match ACA funds.

But how to get conservative candidates nominated? and how to provide them with political organization? For conservatives, ACA is a highly desirable first step. Perhaps the second is adumbrated by Admiral Moreell. "We are definitely not intending to foster the formation of a third party," he says in the ACA film. "I do not mean to imply by that, that a third party might not eventuate from these activities throughout the United States."

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ADVERTISEMENT

For Our Children's Children

FRANK CHODOROV

(As a result of the following article, which appeared in Human Events *six years ago, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists was formed. The argument is still the guiding star of ISI.)*

WHATEVER OPPOSITION to the trend toward complete socialization of American life we do have is aimed mainly at legislation, or at politicians who favor such legislation. If certain laws are enacted, or repealed, or if "our kind" of politician is elected—so goes the reasoning—then all will be well.

That kind of therapy comes from looking for quick results; it attacks the effects without looking to the cause. The laws, and the politicians who favor them, are the product of the mass-mind of America, and that mass-mind is the product of the ideas implanted in it long ago and carefully cultured through the years. Unless and until this mass-mind of America is re-educated to freedom, the end product of Socialism is unavoidable. No program based on a policy of immediacy can prevent it.

The task of those who would stop our descent should not be the changing of laws but the inculcation of values which will make such laws impossible. That is a difficult chore, to be sure, but it is the only one capable of producing the desired result. It calls for a long-term project and, in the nature of things, those who undertake it cannot gather the fruits of their labors. Only our children's children will do the reaping, although some spiritual benefit accrues to those who enjoy fighting for principle.

It is exactly this kind of zeal that brought Socialism to America. The advocates of that school of thought, 50 years ago, met with an aversion to political intervention far stronger than the current avidity for it. Nevertheless, they went at their seemingly impossible mission, kept at it, and in less than three decades we had the New Deal. They did an effective job on the American mind.

The current and belated opposition to Socialism would do well to study the educational methods which preceded its advent; and to capture, if possible, the missionary fervor that brought success. The Socialists were fired by faith in the rightness of their doctrine, a faith which in turn rested on a "scientific" dogma. They had it on the authority of Karl Marx, who got it from the stars of history, that Socialism is the fated *modus vivendi* of mankind. There was nothing anybody could do to prevent it, and it would come without a lifting hand. Nevertheless, his followers undertook to hurry history along. They went to work on the American mind.

WITH ADMIRABLE ASTUTENESS, they went to work particularly on the fertile mind of youth. They were amply rewarded. The college student took readily to their humanitarian and romantic slogans, and his inclination to precocity was satisfied by the pretensions of Socialism to scientific exactitude. "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains" has all the qualities, including lack of sense, of a college yell; the plausibility of the "surplus value" theory easily raises it to an absolute in a mind unencumbered by experience.

Just how Socialism first came to the campus is unrecorded. It made its appearance early in the century. Perhaps some of the boys picked up the germ at a street-corner meeting. There were bright boys, given to speculative ideas and endowed with the gift of articulation; also, they were boys who could make neither the fraternities nor the athletic teams. Their deflated egos were puffed up by a sense of martyrdom. They had a "cause."

After World War I the organization of these college Socialists into active, proselytizing groups took on a full head of steam. The success of the Bolsheviks gave impetus to the dogma of inevitability. Here was positive proof that Lenin was right; history can be pushed along. Henceforth, the policy of indoctrination was to be supplemented, if not superseded, by a program of action.

The immediacy of the millenium fired the imagination of venturesome youth, while their energy found an outlet in doing something about it. There was much to do. The underdog proletarian had to be aroused from his lethargy, even at the risk of a broken head on the picket line. There were speeches to be made, pamphlets to be distributed. Intercollegiate conventions required a lot of organizational skill, and one's *Weltschmerz* was soothed in writing, debating and voting for resolutions covering every ill of mankind. And the spirit of solidarity was regularly revitalized at necking parties.

LONG BEFORE THE NEW DEAL came upon us, thousands of these collegebred Socialists had taken their training into fields where it could be put to use: as labor leaders, minsters, teachers, lawyers, writers. They were opinion-makers. They worked themselves into positions of importance in these fields, and further entrenched themselves by hiring more recent graduates of the Socialist clubs. Contrary-minded graduates were carefully discriminated against. As heads of departments, our bright boys had the "academic freedom" to hire their own kind; as literary critics, they boosted their brand of books into bestsellers and gave short shrift to anything that sounded anti-socialistic.

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When Franklin D. Roosevelt looked for help and advice in meeting the economic collapse, these quite articulate smart boys were the logical ones to turn to. They had established their reputations for wisdom in books and articles, on the rostrum and in the classroom. Their ideas had broken through the hard crust of American individualism. On the other hand, the American businessmen were useless in the circumstances, not only because they were bewildered by the turn of events but because it was assumed that they were at the bottom of all the trouble; the Socialists had proved that.

The politicians did not invent the New Deal. They took to it naturally because it offered a grand opportunity to enhance political power, not because they understood or favored its underlying doctrine. The authors of this program were the graduates of the campus socialistic clubs. Popular acceptance of it was facilitated by the long, persistent struggle to reshape the American mind.

TODAY, the doctrinaire Socialist club on the campus (as distinguished from the Communist kind) would be excess baggage. It has done its work. Socialistic values have indeed become conservative and conservatism does not stir the adolescent. From his grade school days the American under forty has had it hammered into him that Society is everything, the individual merely a means, and he therefore takes to socialistic thought and legislation quite readily. He has been conditioned.

In that very fact lies the challenge to individualism. The formula of "something new and different," always attractive to the groping mind, is to be found in the very values that socialistic propaganda has so effectively submerged. The old is now the new. Hence, to start the mind of coming generations in the direction of freedom, it is only necessary that these old values be dug up out of the ash heap of the current culture, dusted off and presented to the revolutionary instinct in brand-new garb. Individualism must be offered as first-class radicalism—which it is, these days.

As for an effective *modus operandi*, where better to look for it than in the successful program of the Socialists? The Individualist Club (or, perhaps, the Freedom Club) must be planted on the campus. It would be welcome, just as its opposite was 40 years ago, and for the same reasons. Fortified with "extreme" values, its members would in short order establish themselves as the intellectual elite. They would attract to themselves the same restless, inquisitive type that took up with the Marxist promise; after all, freedom is a more impelling "cause" than collectivism.

As an initial step in such a program, a lecture bureau should be established. Its business would be to book missionary lectures on the campus, or near it. The faculties would undoubtedly resent the intrusion, but any opposition from this source would help the undertaking no end. It should be the business of the lecturers not only to introduce students to the doctrines of individualism but also to destroy by logic, facts and ridicule the implicit and explicit collectivism in their textbooks, particularly in the field of economics. Such critical analyses of the "adopted" books would arouse resentment amounting to disgust.

The sophomore likes nothing better than to refute and confute his natural enemy, the professor, and if he is furnished with the ammunition he can be depended on to use it. Opposition breeds conviction.

In support of the lecturers, there should be a publication directed at the student mind. It should aim to present the pertinent news of the day factually but from the viewpoint of the individualist; it must be non-partisan but definitely ideological. Its pages should be open to student participation and as soon as possible its editorial management should be turned over to the graduates of these radical clubs.

It is hardly possible here to go into the details of such a long-term project; nor is it necessary. The students would have something of value to contribute, particularly in the matter of organization.

The point to be considered now is whether there is in America a will for freedom of sufficient vigor to initiate the suggested campaign. Some investment will be required, though not as much as the Socialists put into their effort, because the response to freedom is more spontaneous; they got nowhere until they twisted this "bourgeois" concept into their ideology.

More than money, sincerity of purpose amounting to religious fervor is called for. The effort must be looked upon as a legacy for the future. With property confiscation on the increase, is there any other legacy a man can expect to leave to his grandchildren? See England!

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Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Europe in Early 1959

At the beginning of the new year several events are casting their shadows over the Continent. First there is the Berlin Crisis, which, curiously enough, has never been taken very seriously by the Germans; and this in spite of the fact that Berlin is the Achilles-heel not only of the Federal Republic but of the entire Free Western community. The building activity in Berlin has never ceased for a moment, and the attack by Khrushchev and his minions on the freedom of the West Berliners is considered merely an easy trick to acquire new propaganda laurels. These would be claimed the moment the Kremlin backed down, making its strategic retreat appear as a gesture of self-denying magnanimity in the devoted service of "peace."

Then there is Mikoyan's visit to the United States. The Kremlinologists—this frequently used term inevitably reminds one of "criminologists"—view it quite differently from the man in the street. They welcome this trip because there is a chance, even if remote, that it may strengthen Mikoyan's personal position. Like Malenkov, he is considered by these experts to be a "soft" Communist; they also see in him a personal enemy of Khrushchev, whose power and position are eminent, though still not as completely unequivocal as Stalin's used to be. It was Mikoyan who, at the twentieth Party Congress, cleverly maneuvered Khrushchev into his spurious "anti-Stalinist" course, the same Khrushchev who, in Stalin's service, had undermined Kossior's position in the Ukraine and later benefited so greatly from Kossior's "legal" murder. Khrushchev's ironic remarks about Mikoyan before the latter's departure, to the effect that Americans must beware of this shrewd Armenian lest he settle down in the United States and quickly turn into a wealthy capitalist, cannot be interpreted, in the light of Soviet ideology, as moral homage to the Vice Premier.

One also has to reconsider Mikoyan's *apparently* bad record in the Hungarian revolution, his luring of Pál Maléter into the conference where he was arrested in order to be murdered a year and a half later. Yet, what actually takes place in totalitarian states is frequently of a very different nature than one might think after a superficial investigation. Who knows whether Mikoyan (no less than the unfortunate Maléter) was not tricked by Serov? According to the intelligence in my hands Mikoyan was desperate about the Hungarian events and in favor of nonintervention, but was easily overruled when the Anglo-French landings in Egypt (however justifiable *per se*) gave such a handy argument to the interventionists. One has to view the men of the Kremlin not as a closely cooperating group, but as a very heterogeneous cluster of relatively intellectual gangsters and ambitious politicians who may appear one day as a solid phalanx of conspirators and the next day may tear out each other's fingernails or pump bullets into each other's heads. To deal with them, if one cannot lead from strength, is a skin game which must be conducted cleverly and always with the ultimate purpose of strengthening the *least evil* elements while isolating the most irresponsible.

Two Grand Old Men

Much more excitement than attended the hurling of various rockets and satellites into space has been created by the "hardening" of several European currencies, an event obviously intended to achieve two important purposes. It is a step toward the free economy always insistently demanded by the neo-liberal stalwarts of free enterprise; and at the same time it is a decisive preparatory step towards the integration of Europe—of the "Little Six" no less than of the "Free Zone" nations.

Interest also centers around Dr. Konrad Adenauer, who has celebrated another birthday and is now entering his eighty-fourth year. He was swamped with congratulations from near and far. And another Grand Old Man is attracting much attention: the new Pope, John XXIII, who seems to be revolutionizing the Church in a quiet, fatherly, and benevolent manner. Those Europeans whose "candidate" has been defeated have speedily reconciled themselves to the new occupant of the throne of St. Peter, who is giving a hitherto unaccustomed twist to life in the Vatican. The very choice of his name proved that he is not reluctant to grasp a hot iron—the false John XXIII, the anti-Pope, was such a bad egg that none of the succeeding pontiffs wanted to be even onomastically associated with what is, after all, the name of the Baptist. The Holy Father's visit to the inmates of the "Regina Coeli" prison emphasized the fact that in a Catholic civilization not only the sufferer and the sinner, but also the criminal who has fallen upon evil days, has spiritual claims.

A more pliable policy toward the Red World also appears to be in the offing, aimed at easing the terrible predicament in which the hierarchy east of the Iron Curtain now finds itself. Here we must remember the words of Pius XI: "In order to save the souls of our children, we would negotiate with the Devil in person." The Catholic Church's primary task is neither to punish offenses nor to wage holy wars, but to find ways and means to administer the Sacraments. In order to administer the Sacraments (as well as to teach and to preach) it is bound to enter arrangements with even the vilest powers in the world. Yet it would be a gratuitous inference to believe that such a power thereby gains a moral recognition. The decent, self-respecting layman and the prison chaplain obviously have to move in very different social circles. Nor should it be argued that diplomatic or political relations place the Vatican on the same level as the "criminal state" in question. The See of St. Peter never regards itself as an equal of any political structure. This is the reason why in Catholic states the Papal Nuncio is not just one of the accredited diplomats but acts as the Dean of the entire diplomatic corps.

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Do We Want an "Open Society"?

Does our Constitution oblige us to tolerate ideas and minorities which may destroy us? No, says Mr. Kendall, and that interpretation must be fought

WILLMOORE KENDALL

One of the major responsibilities of the teacher-scholar, I like to think, is to look to the health of the discussion process in his society. Let him, when he talks about his changing society, keep in mind the distinction between good change and bad change, and give his major attention to those proposals for change that seem to him well along toward getting themselves adopted without having been adequately discussed. In such proposals lie our greatest hazards, because they are pregnant with the two-fold possibility of resulting in transition from good to evil and of reducing free society itself to an absurdity, which surely it is if proposals are adopted in the absence of dispassionate inquiry into their merit.

Are there important transitional proposals on the horizon that bid fair to get themselves adopted without having been fully canvassed? Are there, in particular, obvious aspects of the problems to which those proposals relate that we ought to remind ourselves of before we rush to adopt them? And if there are such proposals, what does this imply about the health of the discussion process in our free society, and about the probable rationality of future decisions as to what proposals to adopt and what to reject?

Objections Unheard

Concretely, I propose to examine a proposal lying before the American people that belongs in this category. It is a proposal about which I am prepared to argue that it is well along toward adoption without the side of the objectors having been heard at all; a proposal whose current handling seems to bespeak a state of advanced ill health in the discussion process that goes on about us. It is this: That we declare American society an "open society"; that is, a society based upon absolute freedom of thought and freedom of opinion. That proposal is espoused by a readily identifiable grouping of our citizens; so that the fact that only one point of view about it is getting an adequate hearing suggests the possibility that that group today dominates the discussion process in America in a way that ought to frighten all of us, including—if they value free society as they insist they value it—themselves.

Let me make clear the kind of thing I see going on in American life that seems to me to add up to such a proposal. For it comes to us most often, not in the form of a proposal at all, certainly not in the form of a proposal for change. Rather it comes to us in the form of an axiom or higher principle, to which we must appeal in debating a certain kind of practical problem that often arises among us.

Question of a Red Minority

What practical problems? Well, most especially the problem that presented itself for the first time back in the 1940s: What are we in America going to do about the possible emergence in the United States of a Communist minority? It happens to be the kind of problem we had, in our good fortune, never before been familiar with, and the central question, as it came to be fought out in the debate concerning the internal security program, was this: Are we entitled, when we identify an emergent minority whose beliefs and intentions we deem utterly objectionable, to use the powers of government in order to strike at that minority—in order to serve notice on it that we do not intend to tolerate its continued existence? Some of us—enough at least to influence the course of congressional investigation and legislation over the years—gave to that question a prompt and confident affirmative answer: We are not only entitled to strike at such a minority; it is our solemn duty to do so. Others said No, and for two reasons:

1. The Constitution of the United States, particularly the First Amendment to the Constitution, forbids all such measures; under the Constitution every American enjoys a right to think and advocate what he pleases, and to hold otherwise is to misrepresent the basic character of our constitutional law.

2. Whether the First Amendment actually says that or not, that is what it *ought* to say—since unless it says that, American society is not a free society, and a free society is what we are determined to make it.

"Matter of Opinion"

And both arguments—the Constitutional argument and what we may call the political theory argument—were soon being restated in a slightly different language, which I for one happen to welcome, namely: There is no such thing as an objectionable minority in America; opinions differ as to what minorities are objectionable and what ones are not; it is, in the very nature of the case, a matter of opinion, which no man has any business deciding for another. In order, then, to justify a proposal to prevent the emergence of such-and-such a minority in America, you would have to be able to point to a political orthodoxy that American citizens are obliged to accept and believe in. There is no such orthodoxy, and for two reasons (which brings us back where we were, but with a different vocabulary): first, the Constitution forbids such an orthodoxy, and second, such an orthodoxy is incompatible with the very idea of free society.

Let us trace the further development of that issue before attempting to say anything about its merits. All

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the way through the debate about the internal security program one side appealed to a couple of axioms whose acceptance would, in my opinion, result in a complete transformation of American society—and did so on the grounds that they had always been American axioms, so that the real proponents of change were the persons who denied them. So it was in the ongoing debate about the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee; about the activities of Senator McCarran's Internal Security Subcommittee; about each and every extension of the loyalty-security program; about McCarthy and McCarthyism. Always, no matter who won the fight over the immediate issue, these points were got across to the listeners: the Constitution forbids the proscribing of any minority; the proscribing of any minority is incompatible with free society.

The Burden of Proof

Little by little—so outflanked were they on this higher and more crucial level of the debate—the defenders of the loyalty-security program, as also of the investigating committees, *forgot* they were proscribing a minority, *forgot* that they were affirming an American political orthodoxy, and fell into the habit of describing what they were doing as merely an attempt to forestall the violent overthrow of the United States government. They forgot—or were shouted down when they tried to say it—that a strong case, worthy always of careful attention from those who would refute it, can be made out *against both* the axioms being appealed to. There is a strong case, to put it the other way around, in favor of the view 1) that the Constitution does *not* exclude the proscription of unassimilable political minorities, or even of ideas, and in favor of the view, unaccustomed though we be to hearing about it, 2) that free society must not be confused with open society; that, indeed, free society cannot exist without an orthodoxy, and cannot tolerate open challenge of the orthodoxy appropriate to it. They forgot, particularly with respect to the Constitution, that the no-orthodoxy interpretation of our basic law is as new as new can be, and that therefore the burden of proof rests entirely upon those who urge it. They forgot; and American society seems today on the point of forgetting, and so of accepting, the revolutionary proposal that we declare it an open society.

First, as to the Constitution, and what is involved in the contention that it is a mandate for an open society, a society committed to nothing in the realm either of values or ideas, a society in which all ideas start out free and equal in the competition for general acceptance. What they forget who read the Constitution so is, quite simply, that the Constitution is *above all*—and until recently has been understood to be—a scheme for conducting government; that is, a scheme for the making of decisions about institutional and public policy capable of achieving the ends of government as the people living under it understand them. Any who try to read it in terms exclusively—or even primarily—of its express language, which is how the open-society folk seek to read it, necessarily miss the point of it, which lies most particularly in the fact that the people of the United States, under Article V (which details the amending process) and as witnessed by the use they have made of Article V, have the clear constitutional right to make of the Constitution that which, by substantial majority vote, they choose to make of it.

Overburdened Term

Even the exact language of the Constitution, moreover, does not say by any means as clearly as the open-society folk like to think, that which they profess to see in it. It says nothing about freedom of thought. What it does is merely to forbid the Congress to make any law "abridging the freedom of Speech," or of the press; and it is by no means clear, and never has been to the American people, that this forbids the Congress to restrain the freedom of speech of individuals in the interests of the wider purposes of government (one of which, of course, is the maintenance of the discussion process, which often requires restraint of the so-called freedom of speech of individuals).

What the open-society folk are doing, in a word, is to place a burden on the term "freedom of speech" that it will not bear and, until they came along, nad never been asked to bear. First, they make freedom of speech mean the same thing as freedom of thought—that is, freedom to entertain any ideas and beliefs one may see fit, with a guarantee against punitive action by one's fellow-citizens. (I think it could be argued, in terms of the exact language of the First Amendment, that Congress is not forbidden to pass a law impairing freedom of thought.) Second, they overburden the phrase "freedom of speech" by ignoring the fact that a restraint of the freedom of speech of certain individuals may be not an abridgment but a protection of freedom of speech in general. And in any case they overburden it, third, by trying to make of what is at most a prohibition of certain actions by Congress a recipe for the kind of society we are to have in America.

Two Great Realities

This is to overlook two great realities: a) that a society has at its disposal far more effective techniques for making itself the kind of society it proposes to be, and for proscribing minorities, than congressional statutes, and b) that by no stretch of the imagination can the freedom-of-speech clause be construed as prohibiting society its use of those techniques for keeping itself non-open. Those techniques—the so-called social means of coercion (among them are ridicule, ostracism, the boycott and other types of economic pressure)—are those by which society ultimately defends itself against the corruption of its orthodoxy; the techniques we should ultimately have to renounce if the open-society interpretation of the Constitution were to prevail.

We can, I think, check out the foregoing argument about the Constitution by reminding ourselves of the kind of action, even on the level of government, that the American people are accustomed to take despite the First Amendment—the kind that would have to go by the board if the open-society interpretation were to prevail. The Amendment, if the open-society folk are to be believed, appears to forbid any sort of governmental action that favors any particular religion, or even the idea of religion itself. Yet we have unhesitatingly inscribed the words "In God

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We Trust" upon our coins, written the words "one nation under God" into our pledge of allegiance, retained Protestant and Catholic and Jewish chaplains in our armed forces, and insisted upon opening the sessions of our national and state legislatures with prayer—not to speak of exempting religious organizations from taxation. Thus have we subsidized the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition at the rate of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. We have done more than that, we have stalwartly fought off many attempts (though not all), on open-society grounds, to estop these actions through the courts.

The Amendment appears to prevent —so the open-society folk read the religious freedom clause—any local community from regulating religious propaganda, even if it takes the form of my stationing my public address system near your house and broadcasting that your church is an old prostitute. The question whether a given church is an old prostitute is, like all questions in an open society, an open question, and all must be permitted to take and express upon it any position that may seem good to them. Traditionally, we have drawn intelligible distinctions in defining religious organizations for purposes of tax-exemption. But a recent appeals-court decision orders the District of Columbia to exempt from taxation, as a church, an avowedly atheist organization. The decision is stamped throughout with the philosophy of the open society: it holds, here as elsewhere, that words don't mean anything anyway, including the word "church," so who is to say what is a church and what isn't? (Let it continue to spread, and we shall have many such decisions to insult our intelligence. Perhaps, indeed, even the Communist Party is a church, and should be encouraged by tax exemption for its property?)

Splinter-Group Reading

The Constitution can be read as prohibiting the government from taking cognizance, for any purpose whatever, of a man's political opinions. But the Congress has refused, ever since the days of the Sedition Act, to read it that way. It has pressed legislative investigation of our web of Communist subversion; it has encouraged the states to have their own anti-sedition programs; it has prohibited the employment of Communists in any government post; it has, in the Smith Act, made it an offense punishable by imprisonment to advocate doctrines looking to the overthrow of the government.

But the Supreme Court, reading the Constitution as a mandate for an open society, has lately handed down a series of decisions that, as some of us believe, have drawn the teeth of the whole congressional program—not so much on the grounds that it is not needed, but on the grounds that Congress does not have the authority to pass such legislation. Congress, it holds, cannot investigate internal subversion, that is, force people to answer questions about it, unless it can point to a clear and immediate legislative purpose; and at least one top-flight authority believes that under the new ruling such investigations are henceforth impossible. The states, the Supreme Court now holds, cannot have their own anti-sedition laws, and cannot require loyalty oaths in state-supported universities. Congress, the Court holds, can prohibit the employment of loyalty risks in "sensitive" government posts, but not in non-sensitive ones. Even the Smith Act is today of dubious constitutionality—the Court has not yet made up its mind entirely. Worst of all, when the 85th Congress had a chance to rescue its program by passing the Jenner Bill, the Congress itself—so completely is the air saturated with open-society arguments—lost its nerve and backed down. The Supreme Court, it appears, is going to have its way; and that, predictably, is going to mean more and more open-society discussion.

So much for the Constitution, and the novel, splinter-group character of the open-society reading of it, and the arguments on the other side that we have not been hearing, and the possible dangers of our continuing to act without taking those arguments into account. A word now about the parallel argument that a free society has to be an open society or else cease to be free.

Society Cannot be Open

My own position is this: It can be argued with equal plausibility that the free society *cannot* be an open society save at the unjustifiable risk of ceasing to be itself. Cannot, to begin with, for the same reason that the New England town meeting cannot be open in the sense intended, namely: that it has important business to perform, and must therefore place severe limitations on the kind of proposals it will entertain and the kind of discussion to which the proposals it does accept are to be subjected. Cannot, in the second place, because a free society—how seldom we are reminded of the fact!—has underlying commitments—to Truth, reason, good manners, human dignity —that it cannot possibly pause to discuss, because in doing so it would deny its own foundations. Cannot, in the third place, because it has a way of life to perpetuate and cannot do business, even in the form of discussion or debate, with those of its citizens who seek to destroy that way of life.

That is why, in defining free society, I have said that it keeps the door open *as wide as possible* to initiatives and proposals by individual citizens. It cannot keep the door wide open, because some initiatives and proposals—those of the Communists for example—are clearly excluded. They are incompatible with its way of life, with its deepest beliefs about God and man and society, and finally with the business it is at. In short, the argument in favor of an open society which rests on the character of free society—like that which rests on the Constitution—is open to grave objections; and we should not think of accepting it until its proponents first listen to and then meet these objections. And not merely because there is the risk of a transition that may be dreadfully wrong. There is the risk also of degrading the discussion process of free society, and so imperiling free society itself.

The Complete Cycle of Government Social Planning

Great obsession,
Intercession,
Slight recession,
Bad depression,
Retrogression,
No confession.

WILLIAM H. STROUP

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Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

What Price a Patch of Sand?

The triumphal tour of Anastas Mikoyan brings into startling and excruciating focus the accelerating decay of the American will to resist Communism. Through the length and breadth of American society—by the President and the Vice President, by Senators and Congressmen, by the editorial writers of our great newspapers, by leading industrialists and state and local officials in Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, everywhere he has gone—he has been received like a conquering hero. The few protesting voices—a George Meany, a Congressman Judd, a General Trudeau, the Archibishop of St. Augustine—have only served, like the isolated bands of pickets whose strangled protests have been raised here and there, to point up the slavering goodwill with which the leaders of our country, politicos and capitalists alike, have greeted this architect of slavery.

Disgraceful though it would have been at any time, what makes this exhibition of abasement so frightening is the realization that it could never have occurred before, that we are witnessing an almost unanimous refusal, on the part of those to whom the nation has a right to look for leadership, to see evil as evil, a celebration of abandonment of self-respect and of the confidence in the rightness of our traditions and our institutions that once enabled us to call an enemy of God and man, an enemy of God and man. Even during World War Two, when an uncritical emotionality glorified "our Soviet ally," nothing like what has happened in recent weeks would have been possible.

The Mikoyan episode lights up, as with a lightning flash, the steep and precipitous road we have step by step descended. It is one of those events, not so intrinsically dramatic in themselves, that register and mark the development of a historic trend. More dramatic things have happened in the past few years—the strategy of defeat in Korea, the shameful flirtations with Tito and Gomulka, the American betrayal of the Hungarian revolt; but each of these involved a series of complex judgments and decisions, judgments and decisions made on a high and cloistered level, where reasons and counter-reasons complicated the issues. Grand strategy, Machiavellian design, the dictates of prudence, might be adduced in support of a series of actions which seemed to conscious conservatives to constitute a pattern of slow surrender; still, it was a matter of deducing from the pattern of top-level decisions a conclusion as to the extent to which the leading circles of American society were permeated with the suicidal anti-Western concepts of Liberalism.

Mikoyan's royal reception, however, was not primarily the result of a top-level decision. It was not conceived with some purported subtle Machiavellian purpose or dictated by the needs of a grand strategical maneuver. It was a spontaneous outpouring, an unconstrained reflection of the understanding the great majority of the leaders of American society have of Communism and the Communist threat to civilization. It represented an eager willingness to buy any patch of sand in which to bury our heads, to do almost anything to avoid facing the hard necessity that separates right from wrong.

"Slippage"

This is the differentiation we refuse to make. We look for accommodations, comfortable compromises that require no sacrifice—and as the years slip by, we find ourselves compromising and accommodating ourselves to deeper and deeper retreat.

It is not only in foreign policy that this "slippage" occurs. A dozen domestic examples could be cited. We hail Eisenhower for his "economy" in proposing a near-80-billion-dollar budget when a few years ago (as Mr. Bozell has pointed out in these pages) we castigated the statist danger of a much lower Truman budget. The 1952 choice between a Taft or a MacArthur on the one hand, and an Eisenhower on the other, has become the 1960 choice between a Nixon and a Rockefeller—and not even Mr. Nixon's strongest supporters among conservatives would, I think, deny the decline in conservative standards that this represents.

Constant slipping of the issues of the struggle more and more in the direction of the enemy—whether it be Soviet Communism externally or Liberal statism internally—is the result not of a predilection towards corruption on the part of those of solid conservative instincts, who nevertheless find themselves always surrendering forward positions and attempting to defend positions further to the rear, but rather of a fundamental error in their understanding of the situation in the world today.

The Fallacy of Compromise

The Communists abroad, and the collectivists in our midst, are each in their different ways fully committed to ideologies that cannot be resisted piecemeal by a process of give-and-take and accommodation. The one ideology operates with terror and force based upon the Soviet state machine; the other operates domestically by intellectual and political pressure: both challenge the continued existence of Western civilization and traditional American society.

The desire for accommodation, the suspicion of sharp ideological struggle, which in a normal age would be the justified attitude of conservatives concerned with the maintenance of the fabric of society, become, under these circumstances, a recipe for defeat. Against determined ideological challenge, the only defense is firm, ideologically conscious resistance and counterattack.

The "slippage" of national understanding and national morale lit up by Mikoyan's tour, like the "slippage" in conservative resistance to domestic collectivism, can only be overcome by a conservative leadership that states its position boldly and stands upon it uncompromisingly, instead of constantly searching for a lesser evil with which to block the progress of a greater one.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Survey-Course Boondoggle

At the beginning of Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay,* an unfortunate master at a boarding-school sets his charges to write an essay on Pius IX. All the boys know about Pio Nono is what they have gathered from a brief passage in a typical positivistic modern-history textbook; and they have little enough mother-wit to criticize that source. Their papers, naturally, are dreary regurgitations of the positivist's prejudices. My favorite essay of the lot commences boldly, "Pio Nono was a Bad Man . . . " Upon reading this line, the history-master resigns his post and takes up another sort of work—selling pneumatic trousers.

It must be said for Huxley's schoolboys, however, that they could write a simple English, and they knew Pius IX lived in the nineteenth century; and, after all, they were not university students. Their performance was markedly superior to that of most students in American university survey-courses in history: I know, for I have labored in that salt-mine. My colleagues and I used to get such results as this:

Question: Describe St. Augustine and discuss his works.

Answer (in full): St. Augustine was a man who had a Christian mother and a pagan father.

Question: Who was Martin Luther, and what did he teach?

Answer (in full): "Martin Luther was a boy who when he was going home on vacation from college had a vision on the train."

"Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring," Pope tells us. The policy of most American universities and colleges nowadays, however, is to compel their students to lap hurriedly at a very shallow and muddy Serbonian bog of generalization. Usually this process is called "general education"; and the terms "core curriculum" and "integration" often are employed in this connection. Integration of the several intellectual disciplines is indeed to be sought in a university. But students obtain no real integration from being exposed three hours of each week, for one academic year, to an *omnium gatherum* called "Humanities" or "History of Civilization" or "General Science" or "Social Studies." (These are some of the less disreputable labels; also such courses as "Effective Living" and "Mankind" are inflicted upon all freshmen, at certain institutions.)

An intelligent young woman, now a teacher of English literature, recently told me that she knows nothing of history, and cannot abide the thought of undertaking historical studies. The reason for this aversion, she suspects, is that in secondary school and in college she was repeatedly exposed to an amorphous series of lectures: the same stuff, at various levels, under varying labels—"World History," "History of Civilization," "General History," and the like. These courses consisted of a cut-rate Cook's tour from the Pyramids to the United Nations Building, roughly chronological; and out of the dust sent up by scurrying teacher and students there peered, at intervals, vague faces of Good Men and Bad Men. All the color and drama of history was lost in their bewildered progress from Athens to Rome to the Dark Ages to the Renaissance to the Enlightenment to the First World War to the Brave New World.

Aye, these comprehensive surveys will sicken students of history; or of literature, or of politics, or of the real scientific disciplines. Also they will sicken teachers—and drive out of schools and colleges people who have some aptitude for teaching genuine bodies of knowledge. For the instructor, like the student, begins to suspect that the whole muddled business is a racket, a boondoggle. It is a boondoggle. Schooling in the humane disciplines is a most difficult thing; so too many educational administrators prefer the easy path of Comprehensive Survey. This road leads to an intellectual Avernus.

From the historical kind of survey, for instance, the student learns only to agree with Hegel that "we learn from history that we learn nothing from history"—though he doesn't know Hegel wrote this, and he doesn't catch Hegel's irony. Of one thing he is convinced: that, having been exposed to the Whole Truth of All History, he need never again open an historical work.

And the teacher of such sham history, or sociology, or science, becomes a shallow indoctrinator. For lack of time, he must traffic in facile generalities and Olympian judgments. If he touches upon fifth-century Greece, for instance, he must eliminate all complexities—and with them, all real insights. He must talk about the Good Democratic Athenians and the Bad Autocratic Spartans; Thucydides goes down the drain. That Athenian imperialism was the immediate cause of the Peloponnesian War, alas, would require at least five more minutes to mention; and he hasn't five more minutes. Besides, how would this help young persons to Adjust to Democratic Living?

I am not saying that responsibility for these useless—and sometimes harmful—survey-courses lies wholly with our universities and colleges. Often such courses are established simply because the entering freshmen are utterly ignorant of any real intellectual discipline, and the surveys are ineffectual endeavors to fill the vacuum. Probably the greater part of the guilt ought to be assigned to our public schools. Yet some administrators of our colleges pretend that no difficulty exists.

All that colleges and universities can do is to teach some genuine body of learning—not grandiose schemes of omniscience on the cheap. They cannot teach Civilization, but they can teach the history of modern England. They cannot teach General Science, but they can teach botany or physics. They cannot teach Social Science, but they can teach American government or classical political theory. They can do a few things well, if they wish—and so leave the graduating senior with a little respect for books and a little intellectual curiosity.

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The Co-Inherence

W. H. AUDEN

Perhaps one should warn readers unacquainted with Charles Williams that his *The Image of the City and Other Essays* (selected by Anne Ridler, Oxford, $6.00) is not about Town Planning. Williams uses the word *City* in its original sense, which the French *Cité* retains, of the human community in all its aspects, our family, political and economic life.

It is a collection, made by a friend and one-time pupil, of what are called, often unjustly, "fugitive" pieces, essays, reviews, editorial introductions which Williams would probably not have written if somebody hadn't asked him to or he had been blessed with a private income. But, as every writer knows, being given a subject to write on can often stimulate thought and imagination so that what at first seemed a purely hack job can turn out to be much more interesting than the writer anticipated.

Mrs. Ridler has grouped them under six headings: Literary Subjects, The Incarnation, The City, Pardon and Justice, Exchange and the Affirmative Way, and On the Arthurian Myth, the last being concerned with Williams' own cycle of poems on that subject. The literary essays are, perhaps, the slightest, but there is something interesting to be found in all of them. Though a very different kind of person with a very different prose style, as a critic Charles Williams reminds me in more ways than one of Dr. Johnson; he has the same interest in those aspects of literature in which aesthetics and morality are inseparable, his judgments show the same refreshing common sense and, in his own way, he has the same gift for epigrammatic statement.

> Landor was himself [as his first biographer, Forster, remarked] apt when he had power to become tyrannical—with the highest motives. The motives of other tyrants did not seem nearly so high.

> They [religious dramatists] might, in fact, take up the business of defining, with intense excitement, the nature, habits and mode of operation of Almighty Love, infusing into their excitement a proper scepticism as to its existence at all. It is not dogma that creates narrowness; it is the inability to ask an infinite number of questions about dogma.

Charles Williams was a prolific writer and tried his hand at nearly every form—poetry, drama, fiction, history, essay—but it may be said that he had only two themes, which are summed up in two of his favorite quotations, one from Juliana of Norwich: "I saw full assuredly that our Substance is in God, and also I saw that in our sensualitie God is"; the other from St. Anthony of Egypt: "Your life and your death are with your neighbor."

A devout and orthodox Anglican, he directed a lifelong polemic against the heresy of Manichaeism into which, consciously or unconsciously, Christians who cannot or do not wish to take the other "natural" alternative, atheistic humanism, always have been and always will be tempted to fall.

For to think of spirit and matter as irreconcilably hostile, to attribute the evil we do and suffer to the weakness of matter, to think that a good God could not have created matter (either it must be coeternal with Him and He can only do the best He can with such rotten material, or it has been created by an evil God), must, after all, seem to both our common sense and our moral conscience alike very plausible. To begin with, our immediate consciousness of our own existence is dualistic; everyone feels that his or her *I* is different from and very often at odds with his body and its demands. Further, if God did not create the world, then the intolerable question is avoided: "How can God be good when He permits such appalling evil and suffering, including the suffering of the innocent?"

The orthodox Christian view is, of course, what Charles Williams says it is.

> Matter, certainly, is by definition the opposite of spirit. It is apparently as far the opposite of God (leaving will and morals out of the question) as God chose to create. But it did not therefore become less significant of Him than that less technical opposite which is called spirit. We have, in fact, only lost proper comprehension of matter by an apostasy in spirit. Matter and "nature" have not, in themselves, sinned; what has sinned is spirit, if spirit and matter are to be regarded as divided. That they so easily can be is due perhaps to that lack of intellectual clarity produced by the Fall.

But it is one of Charles Williams' greatest virtues as an apologist that he never pretends that the orthodox view is easy to believe . . . In fact, I think he would almost go so far as to say that, but for the Crucifixion, it would be *morally* impossible for us to believe either in the Incarnation or in the Divine origin of the world.

> This then has seemed to me now for long perhaps the most flagrant significance of the Cross; it does enable us to use the word "justice" without shame—which otherwise we could not. God therefore becomes tolerable as well as credible. Our justice condemned the innocent, but the innocent it condemned was one who was fundamentally responsible for the existence of all injustice—its existence in the mere, but necessary, sense of time, which His will created and prolonged. . . . We can hardly be in a state of guilt toward something which is not in bearable relations with us. The Crucifixion, restoring these relations, restores very much more. It permits repentance because it enables us to mean something by sin. Without that act, the infliction on us of something terribly like injustice would have made nonsense of any injustice on our side.

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Williams would also argue, I think, that the fact that Christ suffered in the flesh as we do, is the proof that the joys of the flesh have a validity of their own and that the soul ought not to be allowed, far less encouraged, "to reduce the body to its own shadow."

This enables him to be equally understanding of that other kind of heretic who, like D. H. Lawrence, would exalt the flesh and the unconscious at the expense of conscious spirit. A vocabulary of four-letter words may be inadequate but no more so than a vocabulary of uplift words. In an essay on Wordsworth's lines, "the human form/to me became an index of delight," Williams, in a way that Lawrence, surely, would have appreciated, points out that it is not only what we are pleased to call the "noble" members of the body which figure in that index.

> So even with those poor despised things, the buttocks. There is no seated figure, no image of any seated figure, which does not rely on them for its strength and balance. They are at the bottom of the sober dignity of judges; the grace of a throned woman; the hierarchical session of the Pope himself reposes on them.

As in the relations of the individual to himself, so in the City, in his relations with others, the co-inherence of sensuality and substance is a given fact, not a matter of choice. To be embodied is to be dependent upon others and to have others dependent upon oneself, willy-nilly. If the choice were ours, we should no doubt co-inhere only with those we like or rather with the pleasing images we make of our friends and lovers and so often mistake for their real selves. In her notebooks, Simone Weil defines love as "The belief in the existence of other human beings." Nothing is harder. If we love another very much, we may allow him or her some right to say "I," but never quite as much right as we assume for ourselves, and when it comes to those who, justly or unjustly, we feel to be our enemies, to admit their equal reality is outrageous. Yet the Infamy with which the City cannot compromise is born precisely in the thought that we can choose by whom we shall be nourished.

> There is but one dichotomy; that between those who acknowledge that they live from the life of others, including their "enemies," and those who do not. It is in this sense, that we must "forgive" our enemies. And the moment the dichotomy is admitted, it immediately becomes a temptation. Whoever does not admit it is regarded as an "enemy" and we deny that we can possibly live and be nourished by *him*. *He* at least is alien? No. Terrible humility! We derive from those we denounce; "though they slay me, yet will I trust in them."

And, whenever we start thinking about forgiveness or unselfishness or tolerance, there is the temptation, as Williams reiterates time and time again, that we shall think of the actions they imply only in the active voice. As he wrote in another book: "Many promising reconciliations have broken down because, while both parties came prepared to forgive, neither came prepared to be forgiven."

In a piece written in 1938, Williams says:

> It is comparatively easy to be kind; unfortunately kindness is not enough. Nothing is enough which leaves the lover in a condition of conscious superiority over—Hitler.

Twenty years later the proper names for our fear and disapproval have changed; our obligation has not.

To end this review on a lighter, though related, note, I cannot resist requoting a remark by Charles Williams which Mrs. Ridler quotes in her excellent introduction. Talking of the "quiet affection" between man and wife which is supposed to replace their first romantic rapture, he said: "It isn't affection and it is not at all quiet, but the description has to serve."

Soviet Calm between Two Storms

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE MIDDLE TWENTIES in the Soviet Union was a period of relative calm between two storms. The worst horrors of revolutionary terror and civil war, with their accompaniment of famine and mass epidemics, were in the past. The extreme policies of so-called war Communism, a combination of utopianism and war necessity, had been replaced by the milder NEP, or New Economic Policy.

A limited free market and a money system had come into existence; the peasants were being coaxed to produce more instead of being forced to surrender their surplus at the point of the gun—an admirable policy for insuring an absence of surplus in the future. People breathed more freely; the Soviet regime was seeking and getting the cooperation of the educated classes; despite the one-party dictatorship there was probably more freedom of expression, political, economic and literary, than at any other time in Soviet history. It is just possible that Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* could have been published in Russia in those years.

Yet the appearance of calm, of abatement of the revolutionary storm, was deceptive. As Edward Hallett Carr shows in *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926* (Macmillan, $7.50), the fifth volume of his chronicle of the Russian Revolution and a work of admirable erudition and diligent research, the Soviet rulers in these outwardly quiet years faced grave problems and irreconcilable contradictions in the hybrid economics of the NEP. The biggest of these problems and contradictions centered around the treatment of the peasant.

The quickest, surest and most painless method of restoring tolerable living conditions was to restore agricultural production. But this meant giving up the revolutionary dogma of setting the poor peasants and farm laborers against the more capable and enterprising, pejoratively known as "kulaks." For it was these kulaks—not the ne'er-do-wells, incompetents and drunkards who were ready recruits for the "Committees of the Poor" which had been the support of the Soviet regime in the villages during the civil war—who could produce a surplus for the market.

Mr. Carr is perhaps inclined to overstress the favored position of the kulak in these years. But a leading

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Communist theoretician, Nikolai Bukharin, called on the peasants to "enrich themselves," and the policy of conciliating the peasants had powerful supporters in the Communist Party leadership, as some quotations from speeches by Premier Rykov and Finance Commissar Sokolnikov show.

There were, however, strong considerations against letting the peasants "enrich themselves." The world revolution which Lenin considered indispensable for the success of the revolution in Russia had not taken place. The idea of "socialism in one country," however heterodox from the standpoint of Lenin and Marx, began to look like the only practical possibiity. But "socialism in one country" required an upsurge of heavy industry, which meant big capital investment, which in turn meant ruthless extraction of this capital from the peasants and from the Russian people generally.

Hence the short life of the NEP and the subsequent grim era of Stalin's dictatorship, with its restoration of serfdom in the form of collective farms, its slave labor camps, its "liquidation of the kulaks as a class," its savage, undiscriminating terror.

PROFESSOR CARR has done his homework most thoroughly. His book, with its documentation and annotation, is easily the best source book for the period under discussion and displays revealing insights into such diverse subjects as the personalities of the Soviet leaders, the nature and make-up of the Communist Party, the new trends in literature, the psychology of certain émigré groups which sought various formulas for reconciliation with the Soviet regime.

Excellent as the scholarly quality of the book is, it would have been still better, one feels, if the author had been in Russia during the period which he describes. Had he lived in Russia, for instance, he would have known that at the very time when the Soviet government was making a gesture of respectability by celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Academy of Science there was a horrible number of secret executions by the political police—on no better basis than the foolish speech of a Russian émigré in Paris. And he would perhaps have qualified or toned down his statements about "kulak ascendancy" in the villages; no one could be in a Russian village very long at that time and feel that the richer peasants were happy. And the style of the book is a little austere, without the delightful infusion of typically British dry humor which one finds in Mr. Carr's earlier work, *The Romantic Exiles.*

Science Fiction

Goldilocks, the Odyssey, SF

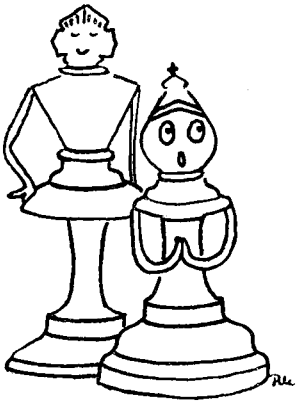
C. ROBERT MORSE

ON THE JACKET of his latest science fiction novel, *The Midwich Cuckoos* (Ballantine, $3.50), John Wyndham is quoted as saying: "I believe there are plenty of people in the world who like imaginative projections honestly carried out, but who get bored to death by scientific exhibitionism. So let us be more implicit and less explicit—let us consider the things that might happen, not to the inhabitants of Uranus, but to us, our friends, the things we know." I take this to mean that Mr. Wyndham hopes to hybridize SF with the dying Novel.

Who are these people who, like us and our friends, do not inhabit Uranus? In *The Midwich Cuckoos* they closely resemble those characters of the light (or heavy) English novel whom we have come to know so well. The deft Agatha Christie creates them with automatic competence. Angela Thirkell devotes whole books to them.

The structure, the plot, of the Novel quite properly depends on personal relations and reactions. There must be *people,* more or less like "us and our friends," and we must get to know rather a lot about them, or the Novel fails to move us. But I submit that the structure of SF is of a different order, and largely liberated from the complex of *personalities* essential to the Novel. SF is a literature of ideas—and while the ideas are necessarily very much imbedded in past and present terrestrial realities, these ideas are viewed from a more distant and possibly more elevated position. SF strains towards the future. Where Tolstoy and Dickens hope to arouse effective indignation at contemporary abuses, SF dreams of both abuse and remedy carried to excess in far worlds and times.

SF is *always* fantasy—in itself a deterrent to many intelligent readers who find the bitter cud of present days more than enough for rumination. Even when SF seems to be dealing with the present or past it searches for the strange, the unexpected, the magical, the mythological patterns *concealed* by "everyday" life. Fantasy, magic, the folk tale have a natural affinity. The narrative pattern of fantasy, the "idea," does not require full-fleshed characters to



serve its purpose. Who knows or cares whether Goldilocks came from a broken home, or suffered from inner lack of security? Do we ever "get inside" the personages of the *Odyssey?*

In judging the Novel, conventional criticism makes much of the "believable," the "round," the "flesh-and-blood" character. In my opinion there are very few such "living" characters, even in the greatest novels. A few writers—such as Willa Cather, Tolstoy, Balzac—are remarkably successful at evoking characters. But they are the characters of the *Novel.* Their "personalities" have a dynamic function, and are in fact essential to that literary form. The characters in SF, on the other hand, are not so important to the main

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design. They are the servants of the idea. A fully developed "personality" becomes an encumbrance, an insubordination.

Obviously SF requires a cast of personal instruments. But they need little more differentiation than chessmen. The rook must not be confused with the knight. Queen and pawn have different shapes, and know their functions. But what becomes of the game if our bishop develops a human face with rolling eyes and talking lips? What if king and pawn decide to follow their private volitions?

Perhaps I am attempting to draw a distinction too tenuous for defense. But read *The Midwich Cuckoos* for yourself—it is far from unreadable. The idea offers enough material for a short story; Mr. Wyndham has stretched it to book length by filling his pages with a number of non-Uranian refugees from the light, or summer-reading, Novel. His efforts to interest us in their well-bred reaction to invasion from WITHOUT reminded me of Burbank crossing the Rocky Mountains with his wife. And can MGM possibly plan to film an epidemic of virgin births? The jacket says so . . . !

THEODORE STURGEON is not in the least frightened by "scientific exhibitionism," and as for Uranus—his great talents have often carried him light-years beyond our petty solar system. But he too has trouble with the chess game. His occasional failures make me worry about the validity of my distinction between SF and Novel characters. In *A Touch of Strange* (Doubleday, $2.95) "The Pod in the Barrier" is replete with sharply differentiated people, but still manages to keep within the rules of the game. Even the girl Virginia who had "a wide face that was closed and bland as a bank-vault door on the Sabbath, and a build that was neither this nor that but sort of statistically there"—even Virginia, with her capacity for spreading absolute doubt, somehow contrives to subordinate herself to the purpose of this bona fide SF story. But the following piece, "A Crime for Llewellyn," is not SF at all, but a dreary, dreary "character study."

Robert A. Heinlein is such an engaging storyteller it seems rather egghead to apply pedantic distinctions. I waited impatiently for each installment of *Have Space Suit—Will Travel* (Scribner, $2.95), scarcely noticing that his "characters" are shameless stereotypes of the kind Clarence B. Kelland has maneuvered for decades—the brave, chivalrous boy; the equally brave but homely little girl, the brat with the genius IQ, the vast scientific knowledge and the wisdom, acquired, no doubt, from her oh so wonderful father (Institute for Advanced Study, Nobel prize-winner, etc.). However, these child characters, just because they are stereotypes, make serviceable chess pieces. Mr. Heinlein's nonterrestrial figures are true SF creations, especially the evil monster whose mandibles are rimmed with squirming cilia as long as angleworms, and the Mother Thing whose speech is a high singing (devoid of flats or sharps). The Mother Thing is a quite wonderful invention. She also communicates telepathically, and throbs with love for "everything small and young and fuzzy and helpless." Jung's Mother Thing, without the malevolent counterbalance.

Anyone who has never read science fiction might well begin with *A Mile Beyond the Moon* (Doubleday, $2.95). The late C. M. Kornbluth played the game with imagination, dash, and biting intelligence. I shall miss the fierce fun of his "extrapolations." A Master.

Random Notes

On the basis of E. Merrill Root's critique of American history high-school texts (reviewed in NATIONAL REVIEW, January 3), Edward Hoyt, a school-board trustee in East Paterson, New Jersey, asked that the textbooks used in the East Paterson Memorial High School be re-examined. In four short days the educationists rallied. The Superintendent of Schools and the principals of seven public schools in the borough issued a statement which ought to put in his place anyone who ventures to argue with the wisdom of school administrators. On the one hand, they said, "there is indication that the textbook authors in question present strong arguments in support of the American way of life"; and besides (in case that indication is not borne out and the arguments turn out to be *against* the American way of life?), it is "the right and duty of the schools to present both sides of all controversial issues."

According to a survey recently made by the Independent News Company, newsstand sales of America's fifty leading magazines have declined by almost ten million copies in the last ten years, while mail subscriptions have increased by almost sixteen million. Meanwhile newsstand sales of paper-back books have leaped ahead to 350 million for 1958.

More books by NATIONAL REVIEW *contributors.* Farrar, Straus & Cudahy will publish Ralph de Toledano's philosophical and political autobiography (portions of which have appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW). . . . Francis Russell has signed a contract with McGraw-Hill for a book on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

A massive eight-volume history of the Supreme Court has been announced by Macmillan, to begin appearing in 1963. It is to be subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation and a bequest of Justice Holmes, edited by Paul A. Freund of the Harvard Law School, and written by eight stalwart pillars of the Establishment. It bids fair to be a fitting scholarly memorial to the Supreme Court in the Chief Justiceship of Earl Warren.

Civil War Spectacular. CBS, NBC, and ABC are all planning massive television series for the Civil War Centennial years. CBS will call upon Bruce Catton and *American Heritage* magazine to assist it; NBC on Dore Schary. This department predicts that there will be much flamboyance and sentimentality, and no understanding of the cause of states' rights and decentralized power for which the South fought.

F.S.M.

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New Friends and Second Readers

FRANCIS RUSSELL

I HAVE HERE two second readers, one borrowed from our local Wellesley school, the other that my father used sixty years ago in the Henry L. Pierce School in Dorchester. As might be expected the current one, called *The New Friends and Neighbors,* has brighter binding, larger type, and more numerous and lively colored illustrations. The background of the illustrations is that of a prosperous antiseptic garden suburb. Boys and girls play and cycle and ride in cars. Nature forms a kindly setting and everyone is always smiling—children, parents, milkmen, policemen, in fact the text of the book itself. Most of it shows the children in their happy activities, but at its close there are some adaptations of animal fables, the animals being portrayed in the huff and puff manner of Disney. New words appear at the rate of two to a page—in all 564 words are used of which 229 are new ones. As the book progresses there is no parallel progression in the subject matter. This is on the general level of the following:

> It was time for Halloween fun.
> Bunny and Funny had on old coats and hats of Father's.
> Honey had an old coat and hat of Mother's.
> "We don't look like us," laughed Honey.
> "Puppy can't tell which is which."

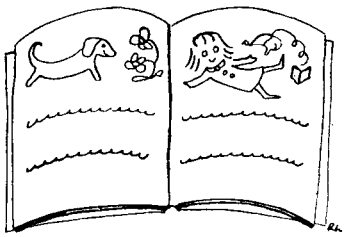
The compilers of *The New Friends and Neighbors* in a word to the teacher point out in short paragraphs meant to sink in that:

> Every child expects to read.
> Parents expect their children to learn to read.
> The school expects it—in fact, for successful progress at later levels, demands—that children learn to read.
> The community expects its children to learn to read in the schools it provides.

And then philosophically speaking:

> Learning to read is a developmental task that is of great significance in the personal and social growth of children.

At the Henry L. Pierce School circa 1898 these were tacit assumptions. Teachers expected children to read; so did parents; so did the children. In fact, it was such a general expectation and so taken for granted that no one ever said anything about it. My grandfather would have been surprised and considerably annoyed to know that learning to read was considered a problem. It is true that ten per cent of the class did not learn to read well. This was regrettable, and it used to make Miss Cutler, my father's second-grade teacher, unhappy, but it was just one of those inexorable facts of nature. One child



in ten was not very bright—that was the way the world went. If such a child did not or could not learn to read with the rest he was kept back, but the others could not be penalized on his account.

That child was probably destined to end up as a coalman or a scrubwoman. Somebody, in any case, had to do those things. Miss Cutler tried to help the more intractable of her pupils after school. Her kind heart was troubled by them, though she was sensible enough to recognize fate.

Most of the Henry L. Pierce pupils went no farther. Graduation from grammar school coincided with the school-leaving age of thirteen. So graduation was a ceremonial occasion with diplomas, speeches, and attendance by parents and politicians. Because grammar school was in so many cases a final step, the whole conception of the early grades was a much more didactic one. The school was a preparation for life rather than a preliminary to high school. And time was limited.

The title of my father's old second reader in a way expresses this realization. It is called *Stepping Stones to Literature,* and its aim was to initiate the children into their mother tongue and the traditions of their Western heritage, or as the introduction stated, "to lead to a love of literature. Many of the stories and poems herein contained will be found again and again by the children in the world's best books. A taste for good things, developed now, will lead the pupils to demand good things when free to choose."

THE MOST striking fact about *Stepping Stones to Literature* is that today it would be much too advanced for the second grade pupils of our Wellesley school. Children accustomed to

> John Hill was going away.
> He was going to ride on a train for the very first time.
> Too-oo! went the train as it came in.
> Sh-sh! it went as it slowed down.
> Then it stopped and John got in.
> "Good-by, good-by!" he called.

could scarcely be expected to cope with the following from the older reader:

> Rain, Snow, Hail and Dew are the children of the Clouds. Their grandfather is Old Ocean. They often go to visit him, traveling many ways.
> They run through dark and hidden channels in the ground, or lose themselves with their mates in the mighty rivers.

Stepping Stones to Literature is old-fashioned and didactic with ethical and religious implications that would now be excluded. There is a definite attitude toward life that the compilers intended to impart to their young readers. Fables are used frequently to further this—The Blind Man and the Lame Man, The Fox and the Grapes, The Kid and the Wolf, The Ant and the Grasshopper, and so on. An illuminated version of the Twenty-Third Psalm is presented in a matter of fact manner without explanation. One of the poems selected is Keble's noble hymn, "All Things Bright and Beautiful."

A version of "The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse" happens to be in both books. My father read:

> Once upon a time a country mouse asked a town mouse to make her a visit. Now the country mouse lived in a broad ploughed field, and made

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her dinner on the wheat stalks and the roots which she found in the hedges.

Today's version is more like spoken English:

One day a city mouse went to visit a friend who lived in the country. The country mouse lived by herself under a tree. She had nothing but seeds and plants to eat. So that was what she gave her friend.

Sixty years ago the distinction was made early between literary and colloquial English. And though this may at times have resulted in some of the McKinley-baroque oratory so long popular in Congress, it was still a basically sound idea. Even the absurdities of congressional usage showed at least a respect for the language. *Stepping Stones* taught such respect.

There are many little incidents and stories in that obsolete reader of children playing, but there is no pretense that life is a one-way Pleasant Street. According to one story that would probably shock the compilers of *The New Friends and Neighbors*, a boy was sent by his mother to market and on the way waited all day by a river. "Why, mother," said the boy when he was scolded, "I waited for it to run past; but when I left it was still going."

"And so it will run, my boy," said the mother, "long after you and I are forgotten."

In another tale an eagle wounded by an arrow sees that the shaft is tipped with his own feathers. "How hard is my fate!" he moans. "I helped to wing the arrow which kills me." Such mortal thoughts are not for the impasse that is Pleasant Street.

The function of education in the Henry L. Pierce School was in eight short years to prepare and fortify the child for the life that he must lead. *Stepping Stones to Literature* helped form, in Mr. Riesman's somewhat overworked phrase, an inner-directed individual. *The New Friends and Neighbors* is outer directed. It does not formulate any answers. It does not even formulate the questions.

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Movies

Pied Piper—China Style

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

THE PLOT, MOTIVATION and thinking behind *Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, a technicolor movie starring Ingrid Bergman, is, as the title might suggest, precious. ("The Chinese think in terms of five happinesses, the sixth, my dear, each individual must find for himself," etc.) Miss Bergman, a somewhat unusual British second maid, has a burning desire to become a China missionary in the mid 1930's and succeeds in joining an elderly and eccentric lady missionary in a remote town in North China shortly before (as was inevitable) said eccentric was swept off the scene (heart attack) to make way for our heroine.

Undaunted by lack of money, the decision of the Mission Society to withdraw her call and, at best, a nodding acquaintance with the language, Miss Bergman determines to stick it out, overcoming the opposition of a Chinese army colonel (young, good looking and ultimately attracted) and the aged Mandarin who runs the province, played in his usually competent fashion by the late Robert Donat.

By the time the two-and-a-half hour epic is well under way, Miss Bergman has managed to abolish the age-old custom of foot binding; she has established liaison with hill bandits (who will later act as guerrillas against the Japanese); quelled a prison riot; and become a member in good standing of the Mandarin's council of elders. When war breaks out and the Japanese overrun the area, she gathers together a group of orphaned children (100 in all, making her 90-up on Monte Woolley in the memorable European variation of this same theme) and leads them on an arduous and tension-filled trek across a range of towering mountains to heaven in the South. They march in, singing a mission song, as the last army trucks held in the area for their transport are about to move out. Cheers and acclamations from the local populace; ditto from the abashed, and now repentant, chief of the China Missions who had refused to send Miss Bergman to the East years before because she was "not qualified" to become a missionary.

A contrived plot designed for the matinee and adolescent audience, one might suppose. But actually *Inn of the Sixth Happiness* is fun. Saccharine to be sure, but laced with humor; sentimental, but with plenty of action and movement. Its success is due to the sensitive performance of Robert Donat (bar one maudlin scene for which the writer must be held responsible) and the uncanny ability of Miss Bergman to convince one through her own sincerity that the unbelievable is believable. Unbelievable, come to think of it, the idea that any missionary to China ever looked like Ingrid Bergman. For with or without lipstick, with hair in a severe bun or flying loose, with soot and dirt on face and in a coolie hat, she remains a beautiful woman whose appearance on the screen is so aesthetically satisfying that it is enough, we had better confess here and now, to jam this viewer's critical processes.

In Coming Issues

Donald Richberg will review Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Coming of the New Deal*. Gerhart Niemeyer will review Raymond Aron's *On War*. The first volume of Edmund Burke's collected correspondence will be reviewed by Ross J. S. Hoffmann. Karl Wittfogel will review Richard Louis Walker's *The Continuing Struggle*.

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To the Editor

The Bang-Jensen Case

Your excellent article on the Bang-Jensen case [January 3] is a top-rate piece of reporting, with only one textual exception in confusing one of our congressional signers of our remonstrance to Secretary Dulles in the person of Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, opposite number of Republican Congressman Bentley of Michigan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, with Brooks Hays who was very sympathetic but probably did not have the requisite courage to put down his name, as did Wayne Hays of Ohio.

The United Nations is a lost cause, but committees of the Congress can still make inquiry, and I am suggesting to the members of the Pulitzer Prize jury that they arrange a special booby prize for the American press for the handling of the Bang-Jensen matter, with special mention for *Time* Magazine, the worst offender of the lot.

ARTHUR G. MCDOWELL
Council Against
Communist Aggression
Washington, D. C.

Thank you for your splendid article on Bang-Jensen: I hope NATIONAL REVIEW will never stop writing about this terrible injustice. It could be the error on the part of UN officials that would end our participation in the United Nations.

How wonderful if one could think that the day might come when the United States would be out of the UN and the UN out of the United States.

Nantucket, Mass. ETHEL R. LYON

If the UN had fired Bang-Jensen as a Communist caught red-handed doctoring the report falsely in favor of the Soviets, we can bet our last depreciating dollar that his firing would have evoked an impassioned *New York Times* editorial in favor of his reinstatement, with full back pay. His cause would then have been fought tooth and nail by the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the Ford Foundation and the National Lawyers Guild. We would quickly hear from the usual list of Protestant divines, Jewish Rabbis and fellow-traveling professors as they signed their names to full-page newspaper advertisements in Bang-Jensen's behalf; and the action by the UN, denying him a transcript of the charges against him and not permitting him to face his nameless accusers, would be characterized as one more example of McCarthyism, witch hunting and red herrings.

KENNETH D. ROBERTSON, JR.
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Perennial Miss Elevator Girl

I have not fully recovered from the impact of Miss Beavers' letter [Editorial, Jan. 3]. THE ELEVATOR GIRL of all time I would say, but one result is going to be my one New Year resolution starting right now—always to doff my hat in awed respect every time I pass a building that looks as though it might have an elevator, and an elevator girl to run it.

While there seems to be much evidence that this country is going completely to the dogs, mentally, morally, and perhaps physically, it does now seem that there is yet some hope. This expanding army of dynamic elevator girls, of the Miss Beavers type, may yet save us from complete degradation and corrupt depravity. Our one last hope, as I see it.

Sioux City, Iowa J. A. READ

Protestants in Protest, II

In the December 6 issue, L. Brent Bozell devoted his page to "The Voice of American Protestantism?" without even a brief mention of the International Council of Christian Churches, or its affiliate, the American Council of Christian Churches. If, in American Protestantism, there is an opposite force to the National and World Councils of Churches, the ICCC and the ACCC are that force.

For years both Councils have repeatedly called attention to the Communist affiliations of WCC and NCC leaders. For years, both Councils have pointed out that the NCC was merely an extension of the old Federal Council. . . . With Cleveland, the NCC has reverted to the obvious leftist pronouncements that caused the disbanding of the FCC.

Upon release of the Study Conference letter to the churches, the ICC issued a rebuttal to the press empha-

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sizing that the total voice of American Protestantism was not being heard. Every major wire service received a special delivery copy of the statement. Major newspapers in 29 states received the release air mail. And not one word of the International Council position appeared in print. In Seattle, the American Council president issued his own statement refuting the Cleveland document. The local papers in his area reported what he had to say. That was all. . . .

RONN SPARGUR
Director of Public Relations
International Council of
Collingswood, N.J. Christian Churches

Perish the Thought!

Apropos of your I-told-you-so editorial in the [January 3] issue concerning reactions to the first Sputnik, I have been checking back through my files. The farseeing observations by Mr. Burnham are indeed there; but a careful search of the magazine's own editorials seems to suggest that some members of the staff may have been leaning just a little in the other direction. As do some of the pieces written during that period by editors other than Mr. Burnham over their own signature. Would you agree?

Palo Alto, Cal. LIV LADNEK

Crisis in Soviet P. R.!

Many thanks to Irene Corbally Kuhn for her timely and factual report on Finland ("Menace of the Friendly Neighbor", December 20). . . .

I have, though, a minor factual correction regarding one of the paragraphs in Mrs. Kuhn's article. . . . There is no "big Finnish population" in Estonia; the Finns and Estonians, however, are of similar racial stock, and the respective languages are very closely related.

The Reds have not failed to exploit the feelings of kinship between the two nations in the promotion of their cultural exchange racket. . . . Quite recently, the campaign of disseminating glorious Soviet culture almost met with a fatal fiasco. Shortly before a Finnish soccer team was scheduled to arrive on a visit to Soviet Estonia, the invitation was unexpectedly canceled by the gracious hosts. It was remembered that the national anthems of Finland and pre-war independent Estonia have identical tunes. Although the singing of the national anthem in present-day Estonia is equivalent to a ticket to Siberia, Moscow's Estonian henchmen nevertheless got cold feet at the thought of a possible anti-Communist mass demonstration at the time the anthem would be played before the commencement of the game!

Dallas, Tex. S. G. OLEM

Our Sundered Parties

In his "Down to the Firehouse" [December 20] James J. Kilpatrick says the GOP will continue to live because "it has been around for the past 100 years." He failed to state, however, that the Republican Party has controlled the Presidency and both houses of Congress for exactly two years (1952-54) in the last 26, with full control again not even in sight until 1962. That it can survive another bad licking in 1960 is extremely doubtful.

In only two instances have successful new major parties been born since the beginning of the American Republic. In 1832, the Whigs took over the defunct Federalist Party. In 1856, the Republicans took over the defunct Whig Party. . . . In each case the new party simply moved into the political vacuum left by an enfeebled and beaten old party. The only possible short-cut to a new Conservative Party in the United States seems to lie in the complete obliteration of the Republican Party in 1960, thus creating another political vacuum.

The American people do not go in for third and splinter parties. None such has ever come even close to winning the Presidency, let alone Congress.

The present party splits are more serious to the Republicans than to the Democrats. In the past, the Democrats have won the Presidency without needing the electoral votes of any of the 17 Southern and border states. The party split is geographical. On the other hand, in the 32 Northern states where the Democrats are united, the Republicans are split down the middle.

Significantly, in the last ten Presidential elections, the winning candidate would have won eight of them without receiving a single electoral vote from the 17 Southern and border states. . . . Nine Northern states now have 47 more electoral votes than the Southern and border states combined.

Laguna Beach, Cal. ALDRICH BLAKE

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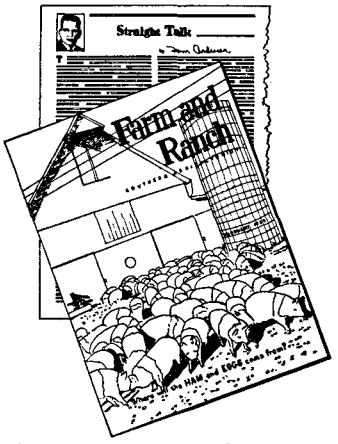

Tom Anderson, Editor of FARM and RANCH magazine, writing on inflation in the November 1958 issue had this to say:

"Once Pandora's inflation box has been opened, it becomes a compulsive habit to open it again and again—to spend our way out of depression, to guarantee "prosperity," to wage war, to wage peace, to maintain "full employment," to provide "welfare," to play Santa Claus to the world . . . Pressure groups for veterans, farmers, housing, dams, welfare, labor, roads, irrigation, reclamation . . . are wielding an evil and cancerous power which is destroying your nation and mine.

The cure is rough—but the disease is fatal. Let's take the cure! The job will be half done when we the people want it and demand it—loudly and unmistakably."

Tom Anderson's main objective is to promote vigorously and fearlessly those ideas and conviction which to him are *for the good of all.* He is unashamedly for America *first,* believing that the interest of all the people should come before any section, class or party.

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